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> BOSTON UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

> > Thesis

THE INFLUENCE OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY

ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Submitted by

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In partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

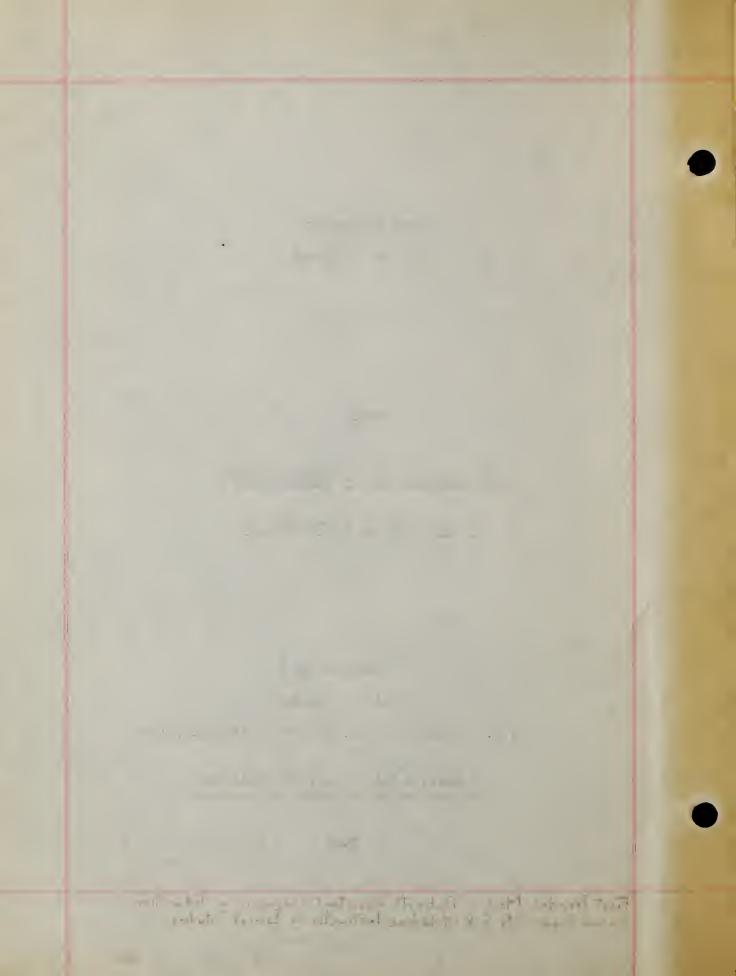
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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	A BRIEF HISTORY OF COTTON GROWING	1
II	A BRILF HISTORY OF COTTON MANUFACTURING	8
III	EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES	22
IV	EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA	31
v	INFLUENCE OF COTTON RAISING ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH	
	CAROLINA	69
VI	INFLUENCE OF COTTON MANUFACTURING ON EDUCATION IN	
	NEW ENGLAND	75
VII	INFLUENCE OF COTTON MANUFACTURING ON EDUCATION IN	
	SCUTH CAROLINA	92
VIII	SUMMARY	134
IX	BIBLIOGRAPHY	142

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INTRODUCTION

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Much has been written in history and fiction concerning the westward march of civilization in the United States. Probably very few of the reading public but have been stirred by the romance attached to the building of new settlements on the frontier. Few, however, because very little has been written on the subject, may have realized that all romance in pioneer settlements in the East did not cease with the Colonial period.

That this is true, however, is demonstrated in the growth of cotton mill villages in New England. Picture, for instance, the building of one of these villages. First, men scouting through the country along the rivers until sufficient water power is discovered. Then the mill rising on the chosen site, next, houses and boardinghouses for the operatives, later a store, a school, a bank, a water supply, a lighting system, more and more facilities for the benefit of the employees. Not only physical needs are provided for, but intellectual and moral as well. Day schools, night schools, lectures, libraries, club activities, -- all contributing toward education. ¹

As towns came nearer and population increased, mill schools were absorbed into the public school system, and the mills directed their efforts toward education for the Americanizing of the increasing number of foreigners. Thus the cotton industry is linked with education, -- certainly a stirring picture:

1 Dulaney, A. D., Lucy Larcom, Life, Letters and Diary, p.7, Meserve, H.C., Lowell, An Industrial Dream Comes True, p.54.

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This happened in New England, but what of the South? There education lagged far behind the North. One reason for this is that cotton production continued the plantation system which is so inimical to a system of public school education. As for cotton manufacturing, -- that did not amount to much as an industry in the South until long after it had been established in the North.

However, the story of the cotton mill village in the South follows so closely that of the New England mill village, even in matters of education, that it is almost as though history repeated itself, although with some improvements due to experience.

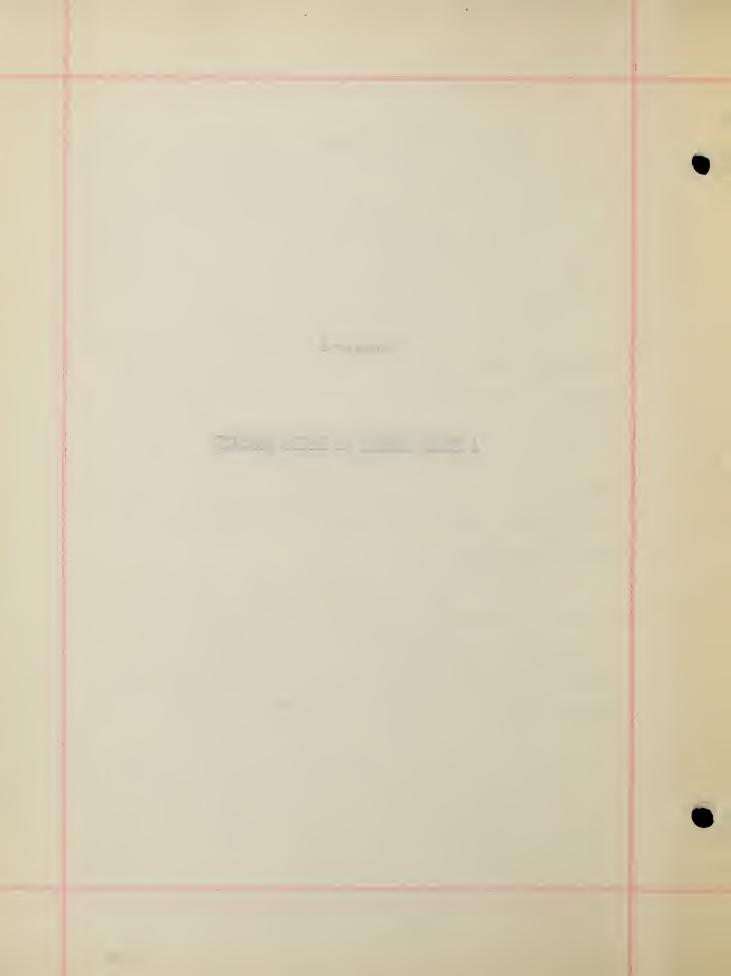
In this paper, therefore, the idea has been to trace the influence of the cotton industry on education in South Carolina so that others may share in the absorbing tale that lies behind an apparently commonplace situation.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy of Mr. William P. Jacobs in allowing the reproduction of photographs from his book, Problems of the Cotton Manufacturer in South Carolina, and the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers for the use of its reference library.

II

Chapter I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF COTTON GROWING



THE INFLUENCE OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Chapter I

BRIEF HISTORY OF COTTON GROWING

Early References to Cotton

The first reference in literature to cotton seems to have been in the Bible in King Solomon's time, 1015 B. C., to 975 B. C. The ancient Hindoo laws specify that the sacrifical thread of the Brahman must be made of cotton. The supposition has been that cotton had been in use before 1015 B. C. although not mentioned in literature.

Lately this speculation has given place to certainty because of recent discoveries among the remains of the prehistoric civilization at Mohenjo-daro in Sind in the valley of the Indus, about two hundred miles from Karachi. Here was found a small piece of cloth adhering to the lid of a small silver vase, and also some string. The fragment of cloth had been preserved by the formation of silver salts. Examination of the cloth and string proved that they were made of cotton. This archaeological evidence would place the use of cotton at about 3000 B. C.¹

1 A.N. Gulati and A.J. Turner, A Note on the Early History of Cotton, pp. T1-T9

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In Peru, too, cotton was made into cloth at a prehistoric date. Mummy cloths of cotton have been found in the desert graves of pre-Inca Peru. Apparently without any connection between the two, cotton was grown and woven into cloth on both sides of the world.

Cotton was probably exported from India to Palestine and Egypt.

Herodotus mentioned "Tree wool" which grew on trees that were native to India. Doubtless the "tree" was the cotton plant, and the "wool" the cotton boll. He also referred to Zerxes' army as being clothed in cotton.

The first cultivation of cotton in Europe was probably by the Moors in Spain in the ninth century. It is very likely that the Spanish Arabs exported cotton to England at an early date and it is certain that by 1430 England was importing large quantities.

The first mention of cotton in America was made in the journal of Christopher Columbus under the date of October 12, 1492. He mentioned that the natives of Watling Island came out to the boat with various things, among them skeins and balls of cotton thread.

Probably from about 1500 B. C. until about 1000 A. D., India was the center of the cotton industry. Some of the Indian muslins had a remarkable delicacy of texture. Indeed, from cotton of short fiber and with primitive distaffs and looms, the Indians produced cotton cloth that was not equaled until the middle of the nineteenth century.

² Perry Walton, The Story of Textiles, pp. 35-40.

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Even before cotton was introduced into Europe, it was carried into China at the time of the conquest by the Tartars. However, it was severl centuries before China cultivated cotton to any extent.

About 500 B. C., Alexander the Great brought cotton into Europe from India, and from that time on the Greeks wore clothing made of cotton.

Although the Egyptians used linen for mummy cloths and probably flax was commonly used for weaving, it is very likely that they also used cotton. Ancient records are not at all clear in their designation of fibers. Since weaving was one of the best developed industries in ancient Egypt, and since the Egyptians were adventurous sailors, it is probable that they brought home cotton as they traded from ports on the Red Sea with ports on the coast of India. It is known that cotton was growing in the lands of Egypt just after the life of Christ because Pliny spoke of the robes of Egyptian priests as being woven from wool that came from cotton growing in upper Egypt toward Arabia.

Pliny also told of the production of cotton in the country around Jericho. In fact, there are many references in history to cotton in the region of Palestine, in Syria, and in Phoenicia

From Egypt, Arabian traders introduced cotton into Italy and Spain, -- probably early in the Christian era. However, the

cultivation of cotton and the manufacture of its products have not been important industries in these countries, although at one time Granada and Barcelona were noted for the manufacture of cotton goods. Sometime later, probably at the beginning of the fourteenth centure, Venice began to manufacture cotton goods.

At just what time cotton manufacturing began in England is not definitely known. Records mention the importation of cotton in 1212, but there is little indication that there was much growth in the industry for many years.

Up until the time that cotton was raised in the southern part of the United States and manufactured into cloth in the northern part, India, Egypt, China, Phoenicia, and the West Indies and South America produced most of the cotton, and India, Egypt, China, and England manufactured most of the cloth.³

Production of Raw Cotton

Since the cotton had to be cleaned by hand, the work was so slow that little cotton was available for cloth making and cotton goods were in the luxury class. So difficulty was it to separate the seed from the cotton lint by the hand process that only about six pounds could be cleaned by one man in a week. Thus it would require nearly two years to prepare a bale. The modern gin can handle five hundred thousand pounds a day or about ten bales.

3 H.C. Meserve, Lowell, An Industrial Dream Come True, pp.13-17.

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With the difficulties attached to both cleaning the cotton and manufacturing it with crude machinery, very little cotton was raised and that used where it was grown. Therefore, no record was kept of the amount produced. In fact, according to the United States Department of Agriculture, the earliest crop figures were for 1790. which was just about the time machines were coming into use. In 1790. 8,889 bales of five hundred pounds each were raised in the United States. The number of bales increased to 210,526 in 1800, and to 4,861,292 for the crop year of 1859-60. With the Civil War there came a decrease in the amount of cotton raised and the estimated crop for the crop year 1864-1865 was 300,000 bales. After that, the crops increased until 1926, 17,755,000 bales were reported. The crop in 1926 was exceptionally large because a large acreage, good growing weather, and a late frost, combined to produce a higher than average yield per acre. Since then the yield of cotton has averaged about 13.000.000 bales annually.

The early acreage figures are not available, but in recent years from 35,000 to 45,000 acres have been planted annually in the United States. Originally cotton production was confined to the southern states on the Atlantic seaborad, but, with the opening of the Southwest, the center of production gradually moved west until now Texas grows from one third to one half of the total crop.

Apparently there are no early figures for India, but the cotton crop for 1801 amounted to 400,000 bales of four hundred pounds each.

4 The Cotton Plant, United States Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No.33,p.41, quoting the Production and Price of Cotton for 100 years, U.S.Dept. of Agric., Div. of Statistics, Misc. Bulletin No. 9

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Because Indian cotton in general has less spinning value than American cotton, crop production has not kept pace with that of the United States. While the production has reached as high as 5,000,000 bales in a single year, the average crop is slightly over 4,000,000 bales of four hundred and seventy-eight pounds.

From very early times Egypt has grown cotton to some extent. From about 1820, it has supplied European markets with a high quality of cotton. The earliest authentic figures place exports to Europe as 3,000 bales of four hundred and seventy-eight pounds in 1821. This figure has gradually been increased until Egypt now averages an export of about 1,500,000 bales per year. There seems little likelihood of any radical increase over this last figure because apparently there is no way of increasing the amount of water available from the Nile for irrigation purposes.

China also is a source of cotton, but internal conditions have prevented any adequate statistics from being gathered. The crop now appears to be in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 bales of four hundred and seventy-eight pounds, annually.

Before the World War, Russia grew between 1,250,000 and 2,000,000 bales of cotton, most of which were used either in Hussia or nearby continental cotton mills. Following the Russian Revolution, production of cotton decreased very materially and reached an estimated low of around 250,000 bales. But, beginning in 1924 the Soviet Government encouraged the growth of cotton and by 1932, the last

time when figures are available, the crop reached an estimated total of 1,778,000 bales.

Brazil, Mexico and Peru have grown cotton since prehistoric times. As a commercial crop, this cotton has always been of relatively little importance, due in part, at least, to the careless method of handling in which no attention has been paid to keeping grades and staples separated. During the World War, there was some impetus to cotton growing in these countries due to the demand for low grade cottons for the manufacture of explosives. By 1920 the combined production from these countries reached slightly over a million bales. Since then the commercial crop has steadily diminished until in 1932 the combined crop was 642,000 bales. Much of the cotton used in the South American countries is used for hand spinning and weaving and comes from perennial plants which yield a poorer quality of cotton than that from annuals.

Attempts have been made to grow cotton in many of the British possessions that lie in the semi-tropical zone, but to date, none of the countries has grown sufficient cotton to be recognized as a commercial source.⁵

5 The figures for U.S., India, Egypt, and China are from Cotton Production and Distribution, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bulletin No.170, and The Cotton Plant, U.S.Dept. of Agric., Bulletin No.33.

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Chapter II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF COTTON MANUFACTURING

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Chapter II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF COTTON MANUFACTURING

England - Center of Cotton Manufacturing

Although India continued to lead the other countries in cotton production for a long time, it did not hold its original position in the manufacture of cotton cloth. England became an important center of cotton manufacturing in the seventeenth century.

At first each householder secured his own raw cotton which was cleaned, carded spun and woven in the home. The women and children performed the first processes, but since the weaving was done by casting the shuttle from hand to hand, the men soon took over this heavier part of the work. After the web was finished, it often had to be carried long distances to market.

By about the year 1760 some progress had been made in better organization of manufacturing, for at about that time, merchants in Manchester began to furnish the raw cotton to the weavers in the district, to pay a fixed price for the finished web, and to find the market for the goods.

About, this time, too, England began to export cotton goods which immediately increased the demand for cotton thread, Prices rose as the demand for cotton thread exceeded the supply.

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The limit of production possible with hand carders, single-thread spinning wheels, and hand looms was reached. The supply of raw cotton was also wholly inadequate.

Inventions of Machinery

Meanwhile, however, several men familiar with the needs of the cotton manufacturer were working on machines to replace the heavy, crude contrivances then in use. Between 1764 and 1785, Hargreaves invented the Spinning Jenny, Arkwright the spinning frame, Compton, the spinning-mule, and Cartwright the power loom. Important as were these inventions and great as the impetus which they gave to the industry, much more important was the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793. This made possible a sufficient supply of cotton to feed the newly invented machines. Just how much of a boon to the industry the cotton gin immediately proved is shown by the cotton exportation figures of the United States. Exportation increased from 487,600 pounds in 1793 to 1,600,000 in 1794, the year in which Whitney's cotton gin was patented. 1

Even before all these machines had been invented, it had been found practical, for convenience and better workmanship, to bring workers into small groups instead of having each family work in its own house. Soon the merchant furnished not only raw material but machinery as well. So the factory began and the home industry

1 The Cotton Plant, U.S.Dept. of Agric., Bulletin No. 33, p. 38.

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languished, especially after water power was applied to the spinning wheel and people left home to work in the small buildings located by the streams.

Factory System

When in 1785 Watt's steam engine was applied to spinning machinery, the factory system was indeed a fact. Now the laborer no longer owned tools or had a voice in the carrying out of the process. He was merely hired for a wage to do the part of the work that the manufacturer specified. However, the domestic system did not end abruptly. For years many hand loom weavers struggled along. Some spinners also continued to rent room and power in mill buildings and work on a commission basis. This situation gradually changed and the factory system really predominated by 1860.

Inventions continued but the new efforts were directed toward improving the machines already in use. The reason for this was that the machinery which had so revolutionized the industry just previous to 1800, incorporated practically all the basic principles of the machinery in use even to the present date. As machinery was enlarged and improved the volume of business steadily increased up until 1927, from which time it has decreased as shown by the following figures. In 1927 England had 1865 mills with 60,466,000 spindles and 767,000 looms. She consumed 3,129,000 bales of cotton and exported 163,091,900 pounds of yam and 4,444,704,000 yards of cloth.

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The figures for 1933 were 1568 mills with 51,525,000 spindles and 601,750 looms, the cotton consumes amounted to 2,394,000 bales, and the exports were 141,662,700 pounds of yarn and 2,198,036,000 yards of cloth. ²

Cotton Manufacturing in United States Conditions before 1800

As in England, cotton manufacturing in the United States began as a home industry. Raw cotton was probably imported into New England before 1650, but until 1776, it was still handled in the home by the simple processes of carding on hand cards, spinning on a wheel with a single spindle, and weaving on a common loom with the shuttle held in one hand.

During the years between 1776 and 1814, the home industry was gradually moved into separate buildings as in England. In New England, too, as in Old England, the new machinery influenced the whole method of manufacture and the quantity of production. But the progress in the United States was retarded because the British government jealously guarded the new inventions of cotton manufacturing machinery. She not only possessed the patents and forbade the exportation of machinery, but also passed a law forbidding the emigration of mechanics and manufacturers. The Revolutionary War and the period of industrial instability that followed it also retarded the expansion of the industry. Yet, although these factors com-

2 Annual Cotton Handbook, 1933, pp.301-315.

handicaps, they were of secondary importance compared with the more serious difficulty caused by scarcity of labor and capital.

The first successful cotton mill was started in Providence, Rhode Island. The owners of the mill hired a young man who had worked in a cotton mill in England. Even though this young man, Samuel Slater, was not allowed to bring any models from England, he was able to construct many machines from memory. This machinery proved to be important to the industry, but progress was still slow due to a variety of causes.

Some difficulties that delayed progress in the cotton industry were: (1) raw material was difficult to obtain; (2) labor was scarce due to the fact that the country was sparsely populated and most of the people engaged in agriculture and foreign trade; (3) capital was tied up in shipping and foreign commerce; and (4) United States had to compete with the experienced British manufacturer.

Progress from 1800 to 1865

Then it happened that as a result of the Embargo Act, the Non-Intercourse Act, and the War of 1812, the supply of cotton goods from Great Britain was practically cut off. This threw the Americans on their own resources and was followed by a rapid expansion of the cotton manufacturing industry.

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As the price of raw material declined due to the increasing production of raw cotton in the southern states, and as the market increased because of a larger and wealthier population, the industry continued to grow rather steadily. For all that the statistics for the early period are not very reliable, it is estimated that the number of spindles in the United States grew from 4,500 in 1805 to 5,200,000 in 1860.

During the Civil War, it was practically impossible to secure raw material, and this fact, together with the upsetting of capital, labor, and markets, interrupted the progress of the cotton industry for at least five years.

Expansion after the Civil War

After the war, though, cotton manufacturing again continued to expand as is indicated by the fact that the number of spindles in use in 1905 was four and one half times as many as in 1860.⁴

The cotton manufacturing industry began in New England which has continued to be the center of the industry. By 1860 New England had seventy-five per cent of the spindles in the country, --Massachusetts alone with thirty per cent. The Middle States owned some spindles and the South, too, but while New England had 3,800,000 spindles, the South had only 300,000.⁵

3 M.T.Copeland, The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the U.S., pp.5-6. 4 Ibid., p.19 5 Ibid., p.8

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Cotton Manufacturing in the South

As was natural home spinning and weaving for family use began in the southern homes soon after the South began to grow cotton. At this time the South was really a frontier agricultural community and all available capital and labor were invested in agriculture. After the invention of the cotton gin and the resultant increase in cotton production, capital was needed to purchase more slaves. Negro slave labor was not adapted to mill work and the southern social attitude toward labor prevented the general use of white labor.

In spite of scarcity of capital and labor, some mills were opened in the South. As far as can be learned the first cotton mill in South Carolina was established on James Island near Charleston in 1787. There are records of other mills started here and there, but many of them apparently did not survive for any length of time. As was previously mentioned, the cotton manufacturing industry grew very slowly in the South before the Civil War, and of course, practically ceased during the war.

For fifteen years after the war, the South was recovering from the losses it had suffered. Meanwhile, a new generation was growing up, the members of which were less hampered by old prejudices than their fathers. Therefore, the old attitude that work is deTI IT CALLS IN THE

grading ceased to be so universal. This change in attitude was reflected in a growing interest in industrial enterprise. More and larger mills were established until the number had grown from 165 in 1860 to 550 in 1900.⁶

Southern Versus Northern Facilities

Certain advantages would appear to favor the rapid progress of cotton manufacturing in the South: Among these are: (1) proximity to the source of supply of raw cotton would save freight rates on raw material and make it possible to take advantage of favorable market conditions; (2) good water-power; (3) low taxation; and (4) cheap labor. But these advantages are "counterbalanced in the North by (1) more abundant capital and credit facilities; (2) greater public conveniences; (3) more experienced managers and better disciplined workmen; (4) concentration instead of dispersion; (5) superior climate; and (6) nearness to markets and finishing works." ⁷ Cheap labor has proved to be the chief asset of the South.

At first the southern mills made a coarse grade of cotton, and to-day the South practically controls the trade in cheap goods between this country and China. With experience the South more recently has produced large quantities of fabrics of medium grade and a large volume of fine yarns. However, the production of fine cloth and fine fancy cloths still remains primarily in the North.

6 Ibid., p.32 7 Ibid., pp.51-52

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Cotton Consumption, 1890 - 1930

In 1890 the New _ngland mills consumed practically sixty per cent (1,507,177 bales) of all the cotton used in the United States. This compared with twenty-one per cent (538,895 bales) for the cotton-growing states, and about twenty per cent (477,377 bales) for all other states.

By 1900 the consumption of New Ingland mills had dropped to forty-nine per cent (1,909,498 bales), while that for the cottongrowing states had increased to thirty-nine per cent (1,523,168 bales) and that for all other states had decreased to eleven per cent (440,499 bales). The total consumption of the entire United States had increased in this ten year period (1890 - 1900) from 2,518,409 bales to 3,873,165 bales, or fifty-three per cent.

In 1905 the cotton-growing states consumed fifty per cent (2,140,151 bales) compared to forty-one per cent (1,753,282 bales) for the New England states. From this time on the South continually increased its consumption, until in 1930 it consumed seventy-six and nine tenths per cent (4,693,914 bales) compared to eighteen and seven tenths per cent for New England (1,142,820 bales) and four and four tenths per cent (269,196 bales) for all other states. Between 1890 and 1930 the consumption of the country as a whole increased from 2,516,409 to 6,105,930 bales.

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Size of Cotton Industry 1890 - 1930

The customary unit of measurement in the size of the cotton textile industry is the spindle. In 1890, the total number of spindles in the United States, 14,384,180, was divided as follows:

New England10,934,297Cotton-growing States1,570,288All other states1,879,575

In 1930 the active spindles had increased to 31,245,078 divided as follows:

New England	11,351,290
Cotton-growing states	18,461,108
All other states	1,432,680

From 1890 to 1930 the active spindles in New England showed a net increase from 10,934,297 to 11,351,290, while those in the cotton-growing states increased from 1,570,288 to 18,461,108. Actually, the high point of spindles in New England was reached in 1923 when there were 18,906,000 spindles in place. The active spindles in the United States for the period between 1890 and 1930 increased one hundred and seventeen per cent; in New England, four per cent, and in the cotton-growing states over one thousand per cent.

Cotton Textiles Industry in the South

These figures ⁸ show, in a brief way, what has happened

8 U.S.Bureau of Census, - Bulletins of various years.

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in the cotton textile industry. The South, originally almost entirely agricultural, began to develop as a cotton manufacturing center about 1900, and while consistent progress was made for the following ten years, it was not until the World War period that the South began to over-shadow the older manufacturing centers in the East. Since the war period the South has rapidly expanded its production, and most of its increase has been taken away from the North.

Several factors have contributed largely to this result but all of them were based on a difference in production costs. Of perhaps the greatest importance was the passage of the so-called "Forth-eight Hour Law" in Massachusetts in 1919, which prohibited the employment of women or minors for more than forty-eight hours per week. This, of course, put Massachusetts at a disadvantage in competing with other states which were allowing fifty, fifty-five, or sixty hours per week, and, in some cases no limitation whatever. Other New England states, with a longer work week, were able to compete to better advantage, although their costs were appreciably higher than in the South, due to the wage differential.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, wages in the South have always been much lower than in the North, and Bulletin 539,⁹ June 1931, in which the average full-time earnings per week are compared, states that the wages for all employees, averaged, are \$20.06 per week in New England, and \$15.25 per week in the South

9 Bulletin of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics No.539, June 1931.

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Effects of the Depression

The depression, which began in the fall of 1929, did not immediately affect the cotton industry seriously because the last quarter of the year is ordinarily a period of decreasing business due to seasonal fluctuation. Beginning with the year 1930 the depression was increasingly felt and conditions in the cotton industry grew rapidly worse. There were some wage decreases in the North, but relatively more in the South; and competition between the southern mills became so severe that about the only mills able to show a profit for the year 1932 were those that had stepped up production to one hundred and forty-four hours a week and decreased wages to an extremely low level. Meanwhile, mills in the North were operated for comparatively few hours per week. The increased competition, through the increasing of hours of operation in the southern mills during the period from 1923 to 1932, made profitable operation in most mills an impossibility, so that 1923 was the last generally profitable year in the industry.

In 1925 many of t e leaders in the industry began to study the problem, and while it was quite apparent what the difficulties were, no practical way of overcoming them could be developed. In 1928 - 1929 a program of voluntary curtailment was agreed to by approximately eighty-five per cent of the mills, but this ultimately

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failed, due to the non-cooperation of the other fifteen per cent.

Cotton Code

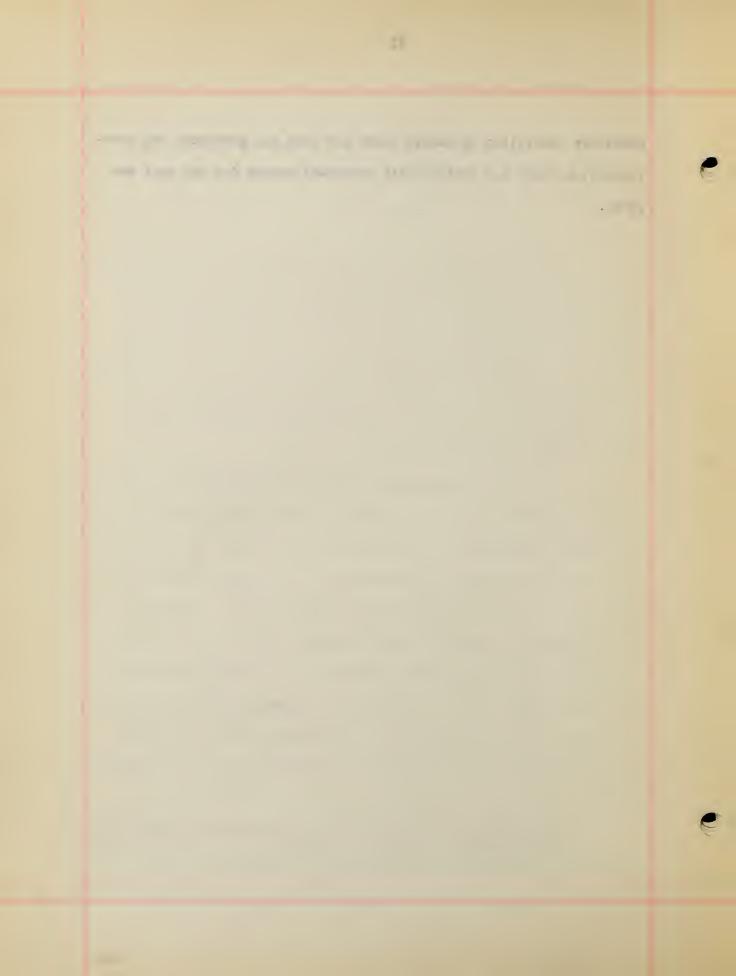
It was because of this intensive study of the ills of the industry that the cotton textile industry was able to come forward with a program of self-regulation as soon as the opportunity was presented. The opportunity came with the signing of the National Industrial Recovery Act. This act was signed about noon time, and before the close of the business day, the cotton textile industry had submitted its Code for approval.

This Code, essentially simple in its provisions, established a uniform work week for labor, a maximum work week for machinery, minimum wages, and eliminated child labor. The cotton Code has been in operation approximately eight months and results under the code have demonstrated very clearly that the leaders in the industry were correct in their diagnosis of its troubles. The uniform work week has enabled northern mills to once again compete with the southern branch of the industry. The minimum wage provisions have lifted the wage rates to that while wages in the North are still higher than in the South, the difference is not insurmountable.

With these two factors to make inter-sectional competition possible, both the North and the South have benefited, and the

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machinery limitation of eighty hours per week has prevented the overproduction which has continuously depressed prices for the past ten years.



Chapter III

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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Chapter III

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

English Background

When colonists settle in a new country it is inevitable that they will take with them the ideas of the mother country und will set up institutions similar to those with which they are familiar. Therefore, it followed naturally that education in the American colonies had much in common with that in England because the early colonists, for the most part, came from England.

Attitude toward Education

At that time, in the early part of the seventeenth century, aristrocratic influences prevailed in England. So strong was the belief that the masses of the people were born to obey and not to rule, that the lowly people actually looked upon the privileged as superior beings. In order to preserve this attitude, it was necessary for those in authority to keep education away from the people for just as soon as they ceased to be ignorant, the masses would threaten the established order of things.

This attitude, prevalent in England, was also shared by

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the American colonists. "Governor Berkeley of Virginia, in 1671, thanked God that there were no free schools and no printing presses in that province, and hoped that there would be none for a hundred years. 'Learning', he said, 'has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" ¹

English and Colonial Schools

Education was not considered a responsibility of the State but of the family and Church. Children were taught in the home or in the private dame schools. The dame school was conducted by a woman who gathered several children into her own kitchen or livingroom. Here they were taught the elements of reading, and moral and religious subjects.

From the dame schools or from tutoring in the home, boys entered Latin grammar schools in which the curriculum consisted mainly of Latin and Greek. The sons of wealthy parents attended Eton and Westminster in England, Symms and Eaton in Virginia, the Boston Latin School in Massachusetts, and other Latin grammar schools. In these schools, boys were prepared for Oxford and Cambridge in England, William and Mary in Virginia, and Harvard in Massachusetts.

So in general, it can be said that education in the American colonies was similar to that in England. In both countries practi-

1 E.W. Knight, Education in the United States, p.64.

cally no provision was made for the education of women; the sons of privileged parents could continue through the universities; and the sons of the poor might secure only a very elementary knowledge of reading in charity or pauper schools maintained through philanthropic means or by the Church.

Modification of English Practices

Although most of the practices in Education came directly from England, some were modified by conditions in the colonies. Differences in environment, occupation, and class distinctions resulting from economic factors effected slight modification in some instances. "The colonists inherited motives and purposes of education, types of schools, textbooks, methods of teaching, and educational machinery or forms of organization and control, such as charters, statutes, and the like, and these were somewhat similar in all the colonies." ²

England had both dame schools and tutorial instruction. In the colonies, dame schools were common in Massachusetts, but the tutorial system was more often used in the middle and southern colonies. However, in spite of a few differences such as this, the colonies had fundamentally the same theories regarding education. Whether they had become social and political leaders through owning rice and tobacco plantations in the South, or through commerce and trade in the North, men intended to remain leaders and to maintain

2 Ibid., p.73.

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their prestige. This could only be accomplished by refusing to share education with the poor, the apprentices, the slaves, and the indentured servants.

Education in Massachusetts

On the other hand, the colonies had been settled, to a large extent, by people of the Protestant faith, who came to America seeking religious freedom among other benefits. Since the Protestant theory was that of personal salvation, it was necessary for every child to be able to read the Bible. Especially did the Puritans, (Calvinists who had dissented from the English National Church), provide for religious education of the children. The early Puritans in their little towns in New England, set up a theocratic form of government. So anxious were they to continue to have an educated clergy that they founded Harvard College in 1636. Boys were prepared for the college by the Boston Latin School, established in 1635, and other Latin grammar schools. Indeed, so zealous were the Puritans to strenthen their church and to prepare educated ministers for it, that New England and especially Massachusetts initiated many educational measures that served as models for the rest of the colonies.

Laws Governing Education

In 1642 Massachusetts passed a law which directed the officials of each town to find out, from time to time, whether parents

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and masters were attending to the matter of having the children taught "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country". ³ Fines were ordered imposed on those who failed to provide instruction.

In 1647 Nassachusetts passed another law which provided that every town having fifty householders should appoint a teacher of reading and writing and provide for his wages in whatever way the town wished. The law also stated that every town of one hundred householders must provide a (Latin) granmar school to fit boys for the university, or upon failure to do so, must pay a fine.

Although historians do not all agree on the matter, most of them believe that these laws are foundation stones in the American public school system. Into them can be read several principles such as: that universal education is essential to the well-being of the State; that the State has a right to enforce universal education; that the State may determine the kind of education and the minimum amount; that the public money raised by general tax may be used for education; and that education must be provided for boys who wish to be prepared for the universities. Whether or not these laws were as important as many claim, it is true that Massachusetts led the way in securing universal, free, non-sectarian schools. It is also true that these early laws were not as effective as they sounded because they were not carefully observed. Indeed, until the fines were increased, many towns found it cheaper to pay a fine

3 Ellwood P. Cubberley, Public Education in the U.S., P.17.

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than to furnish a school.

Middle and Southern Colonies

Meanwhile, the parochial school flourished in the middle colonies and the tutorial system for the wealthy, and pauper schools for the poor prevailed in the southern colonies. But wherever many people from New England settled, as in Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, were found the New England ideas about education.

Struggle for Universal Free Schools

From the early beginnings in New England, which were prompted by religious motives, it was a long hard struggle until public, free, tax-supported, non-sectarian schools were finally secured. It was not one hard struggle that obtained all these things but each feature was won only after great difficulty, and the contest had to be waged anew in each state.

It was only very gradually that Church and State separated in New England. But after town meetings were held in the new town hall instead of in the church, slowly school affairs were relinquished by church authorities and taken over by the civic authority. To be sure, the church appeared to have some authority until the end of the colonial period because the minister continued to certificate the grammar-school master, but actually, a town school committee was given management of the school, and town taxes were voted for build-

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ings and their maintenance. Although the Federal Constitution of 1787 made no provision for education, it did forbid the establishment of a state religion by Congress. Thus, the public schools were divorced from religious control.

Lack of Educational Consciousness

During the Revolutionary War education suffered as it does during any war and after the war the country was very poor. Then, too, there was a lack of economic demand for education and no important political questions had awakened the people to the need for schools and learning. What interest there had been was directed toward higher education. After the opening of Franklin's Academy in Philadelphia in 1751, many academies were established over the country in protest against the strictly classical preparation of the Latin grammar schools. New colleges and universities were also founded about this time.

By 1800, several of the states had enacted general state school laws which re uired the maintenance of schools and ordered taxation for their support. Frequently states were financially unable to carry out the provisions of their constitutions, even though the passage of the laws demonstrated the demand for such measures.

In spite of state constitutional provisions and national land grants for education, the American people, outside of New

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England and New York, had not yet, by 1800, developed an educational consciousness.

Between 1810 and 1830, several semi-private philanthropic agencies stimulated interest in education. These agencies established secular Sunday-Schools, Monitorial Schools, Infant Schools, and schools for the poor sponsored by the City School Societies. These schools served to accustom the people to the need of a common school. Later the Infant Schools developed into the Primary Department of the school, thus rounding out the public school system which had developed from the top downward.

Educational Awakening

From 1825 on, largely stimulated by the efforts of James Carter, Horace Mann, and Henry Barnard, great progress was made in educational fields. The first high school was founded in 1821, the first Normal School in 1839, and the first public kindergarten in 1871. By 1861, ten of the thirty-four States had created the office of County Superintendent of Schools and twenty-five cities had established the office of Superintendent of Schools. State Universities were established after 1835. Manual training came into the schools after 1873. Rates were fairly well eliminated by 1870. It was the North that led the way in introducing these public schools measures. In the South such conditions as: sparsity of population, poor means of communication, and the plantation system made it im-

4 Ellwood P. Cubberley, History of Education, p. 655.

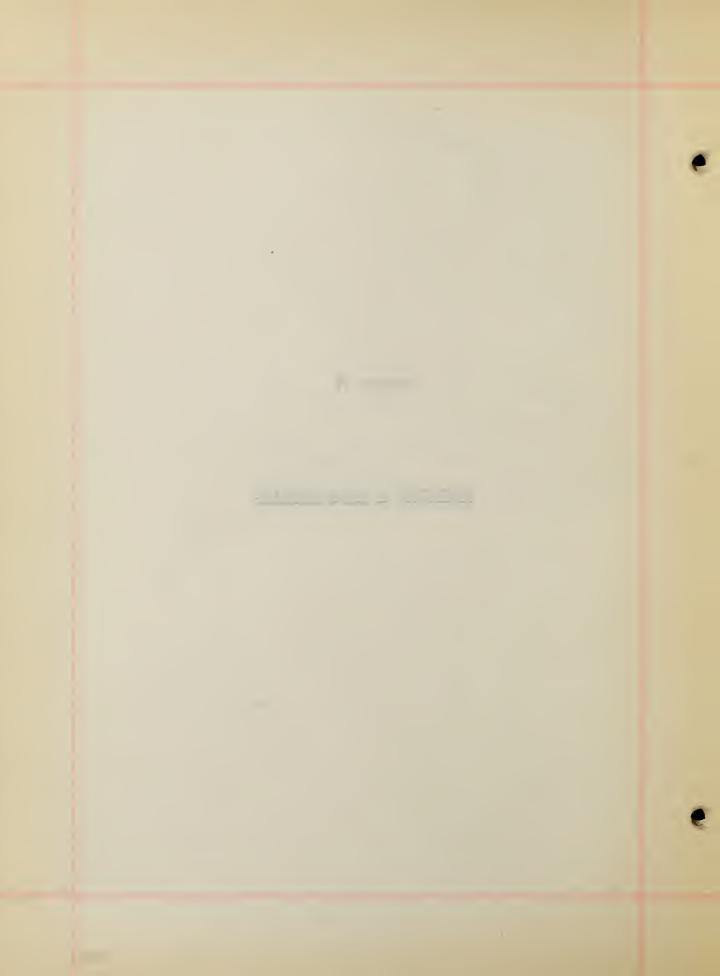
possible for much progress to be made in establishing free public schools before 1860. Then after the Civil War, -- to the conditions already mentioned, -- were added such obstacles as were inherent in the devastation resulting from war, and the succeeding phase of reconstruction. Gradually, however, the South made headway against retarding factors, and since 1900 more rapid progress has been made in evolving a free public school system in the South.

It took over two hundred years after the passage of the Massachusetts law of 1642 to secure free, common, tax-supported, nonsectarian schools in the United States. In this paper it has been possible to merely hint at the problems involved in the long struggle to produce these schools.

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Chapter IV

EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA



Chapter IV

EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Colonial Conditions

Although the early settlers of South Carolina were from the same class of society as those who founded the New England colonies, their purpose in leaving England was not the same. The New England settlers consisted largely of English yeomen and country squires who were Dissenters from the Church of England and who had come to America to secure freedom in religious worship. Those who settled in South Carolina, like those in virginia, were loyal to the Church of England, and had left their native country in search of gain. In addition to the English there were also, among the early settlers of South Carolina, some French Huguenots who had left home to find freedom in religious worship.

In New England, conditions, such as, a strong spirit of religion, severe winters, poor soil, an abundance of rocks and ledges, a limited number of possible crops, and danger from Indians had contributed to the formation of small compact villages grouped about the church building. Whereas in the South, the lack of intense religious fervor, a mild climate, and a range in possible

crops led to a scattered type of settlement, consisting of large plantations. With plenty of fertile land available, each man secured as much as he was able.

In order to clear his land and raise large crops of tobacco, the landowner needed many cheap laborers. These were secured in the persons of "indentured servants" who were usually transported convicts, political offenders, and orphans or kidnaped children, sold to the planter and bound to work for him for a number of years.

As time went on, the land owners gradually replaced the white labor with negro slave labor which was better adapted to field work in a warm climate.

Education in the Colony of South Carolina

As Virginia and South Carolina were more like the mother country than any of the other colonies, their ideas about education were closely patterned after those of England. Therefore, it became the custom for the children of the well-to-do, to receive their education from tutors or by studying in England. The children of the poorer families received very little education, unless they were so poor that they were apprenticed to learn some trade. In the latter case, the master was required to teach the child to read and write as well as a trade.

The political philosophy of South Carolina, like that of England, was "that the great body of the people were to obey and

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not to govern, and that the social status of unborn generations was already fixed." 1

Educational practices were influenced not only by customs of the mother country and the political theory mentioned, but also by the other factors. One of the most important of these was the plantation system. From the very beginning South Carolina was an agricultural colony. The early settlers used rivers and smaller streams as highways by which they spread through the region taking large tracts of land for plantations. As the plantation owners secured indentured servants to do the necessary work on these large estates, the distinction between master and servant became very marked. This distinction became even more clearly defined when the negro slave began to replace the white servant. With the wide separation between the classes, represented by master and slave, there could be no common meeting ground for education in the plantation. Since the colonists were widely scattered over the a vast acreage, no compact settlements were possible and no local community interest in education would naturally be developed.

As time went on slavery increased until by the revolutionary period, two-thirds of the population of South Carolina consisted of Negroes. With Negroes outnumbering whites, free common schools were not possible because race feeling as well as class feeling was too strong against any suggestion of equality.

1... Knight, Public Education in the South, p.21.

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Another factor, that contributed to the slow growth of education in South Carolina, was the influence of the established Church. The English Church had been provided for in the colonial charters and later established by legislative enactment. So, until the revolutionary period, the Church had considerable influence in the life of the colony. As the colony grew, the Church became more and more intolerant of other doctrines which an increased population had introduced into the colony. Religious dissensions were frequent and they retarded co-operation in furthering education. Among the Church supporters it was commonly believed that only the wealthy and the clergy needed education.

Under existing conditions due to Inglish customs, philosophies, the plantation system, slavery, and the established Church, the colony of South Carolina could make almost no headway in developing an education system.

Church Charity Schools

In spite of these general statements concerning the lack of educational opportunities prior to the Revolution, there were some forces at work which had considerable influence. Connected with the established Church of England was the organization called the Society for the Propagation of Gospet in Foreign Parts. It established missions, schools, and libraries, and supported school teachers in most of the southern states, but did more work in South

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Carolina than in the other states.

Since these schools were established for moral and religious purposes, the curriculum had a strong leaning toward religious material. The beginners used primers, hornbooks, A B C books, and spellers, but the older children studied the church catechism, the Psalter, the Book of Common Prayer, the Bible, and the "Whole Duty of Man."

"The purpose of Education under the society was 'not only to fit the young for the business of life, but to make them moral and religious beings.' The children were taught 'to believe and to love as Christians, to read truly and distinctly, to write a plan and legible hand in order to fit them for useful employment, with as much arithmetic as shall be necessary to the same purpose.'"²

The Soceity established many libraries and in this work the colonial legislatures co-operated. In 1700 the Assembly of South Carolina passed an act for securing and maintaining a library at Charleston. In this library, which according to E. W. Knight³ was probably one of the first public libraries in America, were over two hundred books, largely of a religious character.

The schools started by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts were in reality charity schools of the church. Their maintenance helped foster the feeling that schools were only for the poor and a charity that only the lowest class would accept.

Ibid., p.27.
 Ibid., p.27.

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Individual Effort

Borrowing the plan from England, inhabitants of South Carolina, as well as the other southern states, gave or provided in their wills for endowments or foundations for the support of charity schools.

One of these endowed schools had an especially long life. In 1722, Richard Beresford left a large amount of money for the purpose of educating poor children in St. Thomas' Parish. The work of the school that was established with this money, was interrupted by the Revolution, and part of the fund was lost. However, the school opened again in 1783 and continued until the Civil War interrupted it in 1861. After the war the school again re-opened and lasted until near the close of the nineteenth century.

Group Effort

There were groups, as well as individuals, who were interester in promoting education for the poor.

One of these groups organized as the "French Club" in 1737 but later was incorporated as the South Carolina Society. For almost a century this society existed as a semi-educational corporation. hen the public school system arose in Charleston, after 1880, the educational work of the society was discontinued.

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Another particularly interesting group was the Winyaw Indigo Society, which was founded about 1740. The society was formed largely as a social club of planters who were interested in the production of the indigo plant. How the members of the club became interested in education is described in the quotation that follows:

> "From the initiation fees and annual contribution it came to pass that about the year 1753 the exchequer became plethoric of gold, and the hearts of our founders overflowed with the milk of human kindness And hence it became the question of the hour, to what good purpose shall we devote our surplus funds? As the tale runs, the discussion was brief, pertinent, and solid. At the close of it the presiding officer called on the members to fill their glasses; he wished to close the debate by a definite proposition; if it met their approbation, each member would signigy it by emptying his glass. He said: 'There may be intellectual food which the present state of society is not fit to partake of; to lay such before it would be as absurd as to give a quadrant to an Indian; but knowledge is indeed as necessary as light, and ought to be as comon as water and as free as air. It has been wisely ordered that light should have no color, water no taste, and air no odor; so indeed, knowledge should be equally pure and without, admixture of creed or cant. I move, therefore, that the surplus funds in the treasury be devoted to the establishment of an independent charity school for the poor.' The meeting rose to its feet. The glasses were each turned down without soiling the linen, and the Winyaw Indigo Society was established. Such, in brief, was the origin of a society whose school has been the school for all the country lying between Charleston and the North Carolina line for more than on hundred. years. In its infancy it supplied the place of primary school, high school, grammar school, and

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collegiate institute. The rich and the poor alike drank from this fountain of knowledge, and the farmer, the planter, the mechanic, the artisan, the general of armies, lawyers, doctors, priests, senators, and governors of States, have each looked back to the Winyaw Indigo Society as the grand source of their success or other distinction. To many it was the only source of education. Here they began, here they ended that disciplinary course which was their only 4 preparation for the stern conflicts of life."

From 1756 to 1861 the school founded by the Winyaw Indigo Society educated about twenty-five children each year. Many of the poor children were supported as well as educated. The principal was allowed to receive a certain number of scholars who paid tuition.

The Civil War interrupted the work of the school and practically destroyed the value of the invested funds. During the year that Federal troops were quartered in the school building, the school libary was so scattered that some of the books were never found. After the war the school reopened and ten poor children were educated annually from 1866 to 1886. In 1886 it was incorporated as one of the public graded schools of the State. However, the Society continued its educational work for many more years.

Private Nature of Education

Despite the efforts of a few individuals, a few clubs, and church societies, education during the early colonial period in South Carolina was largely enjoyed only by the wealthy and the

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priests. The very poor benefited to a certain extent by the various charity schools established for them by individuals and societies. Aside from these pauper schools, all education was carried on in the home, by study abroad, or in private tuition schools.

One type of private school was found in South Carolina as well as the other southern states, but not in the northern states. This school was variously called the old field, hedge, or forest school. An old field school was usually a small private school "kept" by a teacher who was often migratory in his habits. The school house was apt to be an old log building in a bad state of repair and situated off somewhere in an old field.

As academies began to replace the Latin grammar schools of the country, some of the old field schools developed into socalled academies. Most of this particular type of academy were rather short-lived, however.

Another kind of academy, of the same type as those established in other parts of the country, appeared in the South about the time of the Revolution, but apparently none were incorporated until after the war. This type grew up in opposition to the Latin grammar school course of study. Although there were only occasional Latin grammar schools to be replaced in the South, academies flourished extensively. Many were established by reason of sectarian pride and denominational interest, and others grew from tutorail instruction in families. By 1850, there were 2,640

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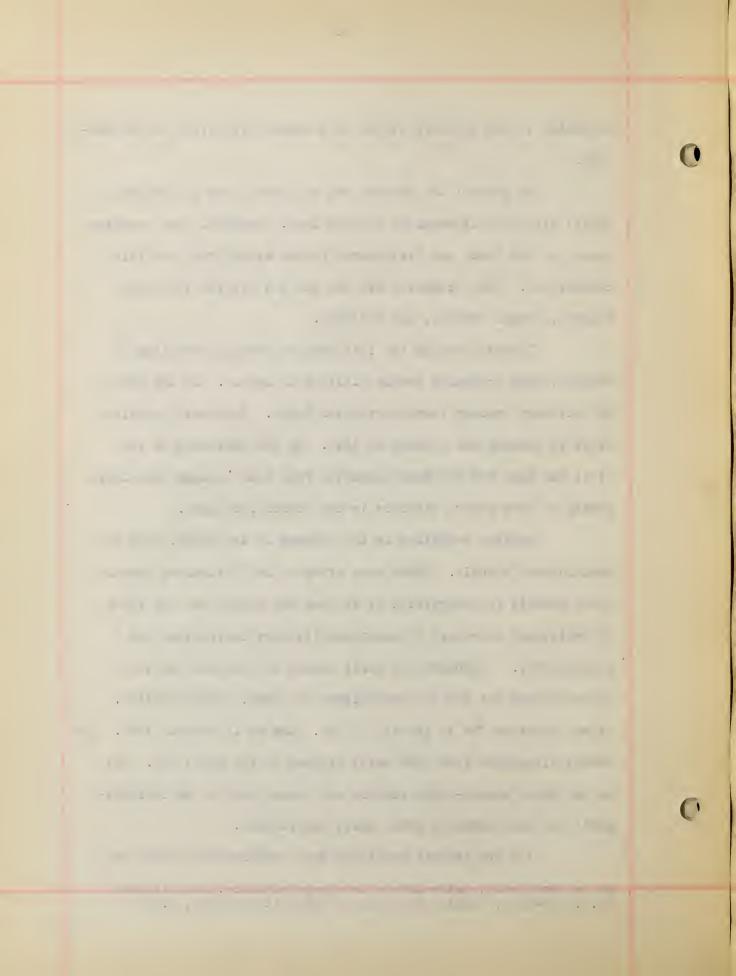
academies in the southern states as compared with 1,007 in New Eng-5 land.

In general the academy era was about over in 1850 when public high schools began to replace them. However, they persisted longer in the South and disappeared rather slowly from the rural communities. Some academies did not die but evolved into high schools, normal schools, and colleges.

Largely through the influence of Captain Partridge of Vermont, many academies became military in nature. In the South the military academy found particular favor. The South Carolina Military Academy was founded in 1842. By the beginning of the Civil War many men had been graduated from this academy and alarge number of them became officers in the Confederate Army.

Another variation in the academy in the South, were the manual-labor schools. These were often called Fellenberg Manual-Labor Schools in recognition of the man who worked out the ideas of Pestalozzi in regard to combining literary instruction and manual labor. Probably the first school of this kind in the United States was the one established at Lethe, South Carolina. It was provided for in the will of Dr. John De La Howe in 1786. The school flourished from 1805 until stopped by the Civil War. But on the whole manual-labor schools were soon found to be impracticable and were given up after short experiments.

All the schools mentioned were comparatively small and, as has been said, aside from a few pauper schools, schools were 5E.P.Cubberley, Public _ducation in the United States, p.185



private pay schools. The state had shown no interest in public education.

But in the North, long ago, Massachusetts had passed the school laws of 1642 and 1647 (mentioned in the previous chapter). While the laws were not immediately effective, yet the state was started on the road to a system of free schools. In South Carolina, however, no legislation was enacted until 1710.

Legislation Before the Revolution

The first acts to be passed by the government of the colony were those of 1710 and 1712, which provided for the establishment of a free school in Charleston. The school was not free to all, however. These acts merely provided that twelve free scholars were to be admitted in return for the free use of lands and buildings. All other children were to pay four pounds each.

Although the laws provided for a general plan of education in the colony, very few schools were ever organized under the scheme. The plan was that any country parish might grant ten pounds toward the maintenance of a schoolmaster who had been approved by the vestry. The vestries might grant twelve pounds toward building a school house in the parish.

For nearly a century after the charter of the colony was

surrended in 1729, no legislative action was taken in regard to education.

State Constitutions

South Carolina formed state constitutions in 1776, 1778, and 1790 but they contained no mention of education. By 1856 the constitution of 1790 had been amended seven time but without provisions for education. The first provision for it appeared in the constitution of 1868.

Legislation between 1811 - 1854

Meanwhile, in 1811, the legislature passed an act that was designed to provide a system of free schools open to all white children of school age. Although this law was considered as somewhat of an experiment, it remained in force, except in the city of Charleston, until the time of the Civil War.

The provisions under this law were: (1) that the legislature would appoint a commissioner to supervise each school; (2) the "three 'R's" were to be taught in the schools; (3) the people were to furnish the school houses. Theoretically, this provided an opportunity for every white child of suitable age to attend school, but, practically, it amounted to the establishment of charity schools, for this specification was made that, in case of shortage of funds,

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preference should be given to destitute orphans and children of the poor.

That the school system got under way slowly is evidenced by the following state of affairs. In 1812 and 1814 the school commissioners were directed to make statistical returns regarding the working of the school system. By 1818 reports had been made by less than one-third of the schools. As a result of this, in 1819, state aid was distributed, but only in cases where proper returns had been made. In 1822, a fine was imposed for failure to make reports.

In 1836, the districts were divided into divisions under school trustees, and provisions made for the examination of teachers. A committee of the legislature was appointed to investigate and made a report. Among the recommendations made in this report was one that called for the appointment of a state superintendent of education. The report concluded with these words, "that none but orphans and children of indigent and necessitous parents should be educated at the expense of the state." ⁶ Although several governors of the state did not agree with this narrow view of the matter, they were unable to accomplish much, and it was not until after 1870 that a real state free school system was created.

6 A cyclopedia of Education, Paul Monroe, ed., p. 369.

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School System of Charleston

The city of Charleston progressed faster than the rest of the state and was often held up as a model in school matters. The commissioner of schools of the city petitioned the legislature, in 1854, for permission to establish a common school system for free education of all children. Permission was granted to set up the school system, and also to levy a city tax, up to fifteen per cent of the total levy, to provide the necessary schools. The new school system was inaugurated in 1856. In 1858, the city established a girls' high school with a normal department attached. After being checked by the Civil War, the work was again carried on, so that by 1880, the city of Charleston had a well-organized public school system.

According to the American Journal of Education, Charleston owed its interest in public schools to the influence of Henry Barnard. It reports that in may, 1849, Mr. Henry Barnard of Connecticut, who was visiting in Charleston, addressed the "Thursday Evening Club" on the distinctive features of a system of public schools for cities. From his talk that evening and the discussions and correspondence that followed, developed the Charleston public schools system.

7 Henry Barnard, The American Journal of Education, vol.16, p. 364.

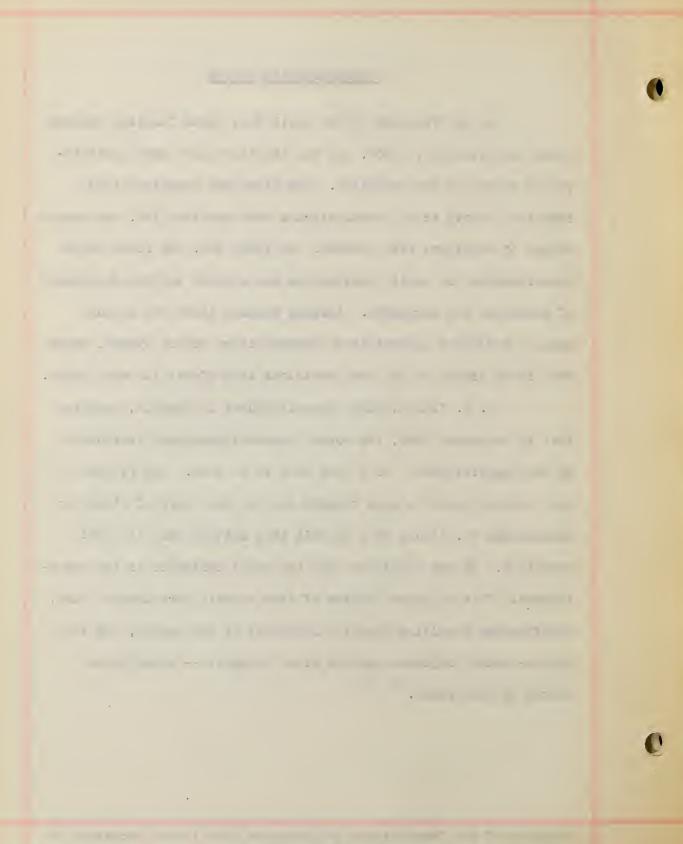
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Reconstruction Period

As an aftermath of the Civil War, South Carolina adopted a new constitution in 1868, and for the first time made constitutional provision for education. The state was organized into counties, county school commissioners were provided for, and county boards of examiners were created. In 1868, too, the first state superintendent of public instruction was elected and the department of education was organized. Largely because there was so much popular prejudice against this Reconstruction school system, there was little effort to put the provisions into effect for some years.

J. K. Jilson, State Superintendent of Schools, reported that in September 1868, the county commissioners were instructed by the Superintendent, as to the work to be done. The failure of some commissioners to make reports and the poor work of others so discouraged Mr. Jilson that he felt that matters were in a bad condition. He was convinced that the chief obstacles to the establishment of an efficient system of free schools were lack of fund, indifference resulting from the ignorance of the people, and the deeply-rooted prejudice against mixed schools, -- a prejudice shared by both races.

8 Report of the Commissioner of Education made to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1870, p.285.



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Mixed Schools

Probably because the "carpet-baggers", who had control of the state government after the Civil War, were northerners and did not share the southern attitude toward the Negro, they passed a law during the Reconstruction period that provided for a free school system for both races. As was to be expected, the idea of mixed schools was revolting to the white people of the South, and rather surprisingly, the plan was also objectionable to the Negroes.

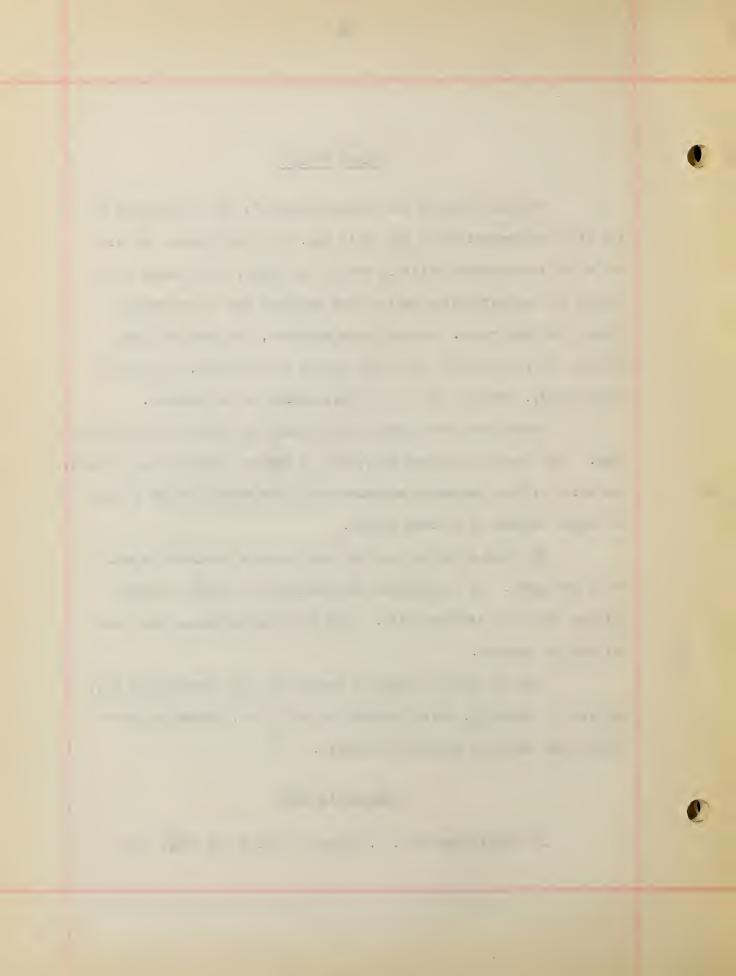
There never were many mixed schools and these did not last long. That usually happened was, that as Negroes entered the schools, the whie children gradually withdrew until the school became a colored school instead of a mixed school.

The same procedure in the upper schools occurred as well as in the lower. As the Negroes were admitted to South Carolina College the white students left. Soon the college became the State College for Negroes.

Thus by common consent of both races, the legislation was, practically speaking, never carried out and a law, passed in later years, made separate schools compulsory.

Schools in 1869

In Superintendent J. K. Jilson's report for 1869, the



figures, and absence of figures, give a rather vivid picture of the state of education.

STATISTICAL DETAILS OF SCHOOLS IN

SOUTH CAROLINA, BY COUNTIES, IN 1869.

County	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers		ber of Scholars Colored	(9) Total
Alberville	9	12	22	292	314
Anderson	-	-	-	-	-
Bamwell	-	-	-	-	-
Beaufort	32	37	57	2,073	2,180
Charleston	12	99	2,026	2,055	4,081
Chester	2	3	-	113	113
Chesterfield	4	4	59	80	139
Clarendon	8	8	70	128	198
Collerton	-	-	-	-	-
Darlington	3	6	-	366	366
Edgefield	-	-	-	-	-
Fairfield	23	24	303	157	460
Georgetwon	-	-	-	-	-
Greenville	45	56	1,355	517	1,872
Horry	-	-	-	-	-
Kershaw	12	16	146	351	497
Lancaster	-	-	-	-	-
Laurens	-	-	-	-	-
Lexington	28	28	568	-	568
Marion	2	3	-	168	168
Marlboro	4	5	93	145	238
Newberry	46	42	1,000	240	1,240
Oconee	-	-	-	-	-
Orangeburg	-	-	-	-	-
Pickens	13	13	294	11	305
Richland	10	17	233	695	928
Spartanburg	29	42	715	10	725
Sumter	28	41	449	577	1,026
Union	-	-	-	-	-
Williamsburg York	1 70	2 70	865	100 85	100 950

(From Report of the Commissioner of Education, ande to the Secretary of the Interior, for the year 1870, p.285)

9 Scholars, used in this connection, indicates a change in the meaning of the word as now used.

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Acts passed in 1870 and 1871 made provisions for the following items: (1) the duties of state superintendent and county commissioners; (2) school districts; (3) annual reports; (4) a course of study; (5) a school census; (6) creation of a state board of education; (7) uniform text books; (8) county board of examiners; (9) examination of teachers; (10) apportionment of such funds as were from time to time appropriated by the legislature.

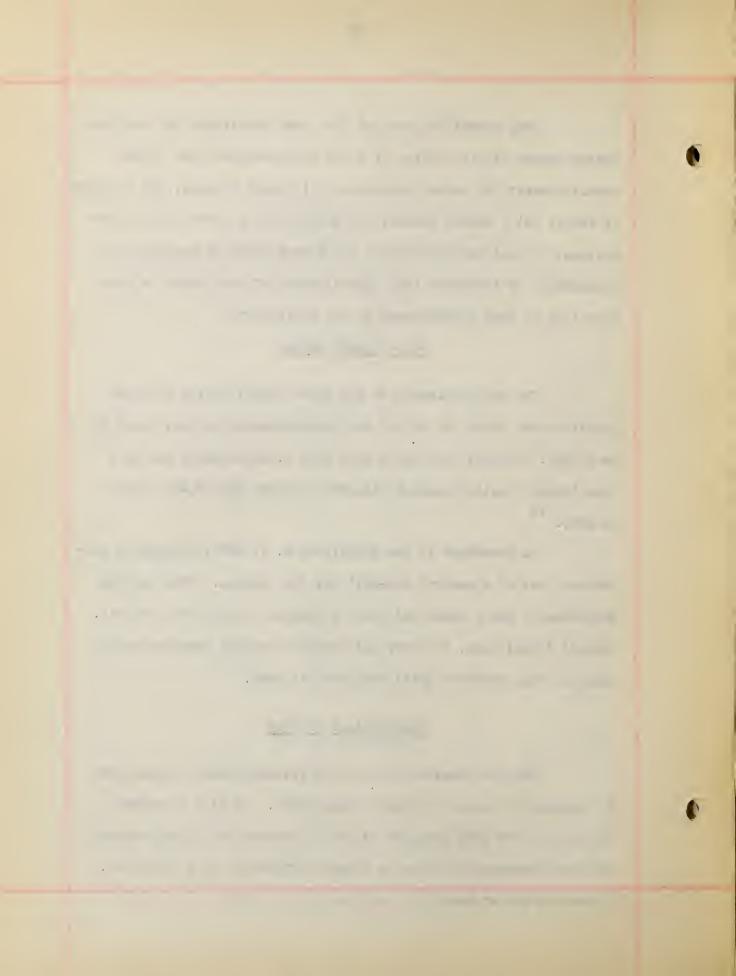
State School System

The real beginning of the state school system in South Carolina came after the end of the Reconstruction period, about the year 1877. In that year there were over 3,000 teachers and more than 100,000 pupils compared with 769 teachers and 30,448 pupils in 1870.

An amendment to the constitution, in 1878, provided a compulsory levy of a general two-mill tax for schools. This was the beginning of local taxes and also of special acts for the schools. Special legislation, to cover all kinds of special permissions for schools, was continued until forbidden in 1895.

Constitution of 1895

The new constitution of 1895 forbade special permissions for schools by means of special legislation. It also increased the general tax levy from two mills to three mills in each county, and gave permission to make up county deficiences by a state tax. 10 A Cyclopedia of Education, Paul Monroe e., p.370



The country deficiences would also be met by the use of the net income from the sale and license of liquors. In the constitution were also embodied most of the prominent features of the school system that had been evolved up to that time.

Conditions in 1900

In spite of the various legislative acts that were passed between 1870 and 1900, the schools were in very poor condition. The state superintendent, John J. McMahan, described the conditions in his report in 1900, as follows:

> "It is a misnomer to say that we have a system of public schools. In the actual working of the great majority of the schools in this State, there is no system, no orderly organization. Each county supports its own school with practically no help from the State as a whole. Each district has as poor schools as its people will tolerate, and in some districts anything will be tolerated. Each teacher works along in her own way, whatever that may be, almost uninfluenced by the existence of any other school or school authority. Isolation reigns. This is not inspiring or stimulating."

Although there were several factors that contributed to the situation, the most important was the economic. After the war there had been very little accumulated property and even that little had been wasted during Reconstruction. Recovery was slow, especially so, since there were enormous debts, unsound taxing systems, and wide-spread economic depression.

During the nineties there had been a gradual improvement in all hindering factors and just about at the turn of the century

11 Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1904, p.1055.

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several changes, which paved the way for educational advance, became evident. These were; (1) increase in wealth, (2) the appearance of an ambitious middle class and a new race of leaders, (3) the awakening of class consciousness among the rural population, (4) the political revolt, and (5) the elimination of the race issue in poli-12 tics.

Economic recuperation progressed very slowly after the Civil War. The South had enormous debts which could be paid only after industry had been rebuilt upon the ruins left by the war. After 1890 progress bec me more rapid and, by 1900, the increase in wealth was substantial. By this time cotton production had greatly expanded, other industrial interests had multiplied, railroad building had increased, and cotton manufacturing had reached important proportions.

Before the war there had practically been no middle class in the South. The advantage of social position, and property qualifications for office-holding had kept the land-owning and slaveholding class in power. The war, however, depleted the ranks of the wealthy and devasted their property. For some years their sons carried on in positions of leaderships, but gradually the more ambitious among the masses, having shared in the increase in economic wealth, brought a middle class and new leaders into an important place in the social order.

Meanwhile, the people in the rural sections were joining

W.E. Knight, Public Education in the South, p.428.

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such organizations as the Farmers' Alliance and the Grange. Through these groups the people became interested in schools as well as other civic matters, and were stirred by a feeling of class consciousness.

At this time, too, radical political changes reacted favorably for education. Political parties such as the People's Party, the Third Party, and the Populist Party, were organized and pledged themselves to public school support.

In politics the race issue was replaced by that of education. Literacy was recognized as necessary for citizenship and constitutional amendments made it a qualification for suffrage. With the disfranchisement of illiterates, the race issue dropped from politics and the question of education for both whites and Negroes came to the front.

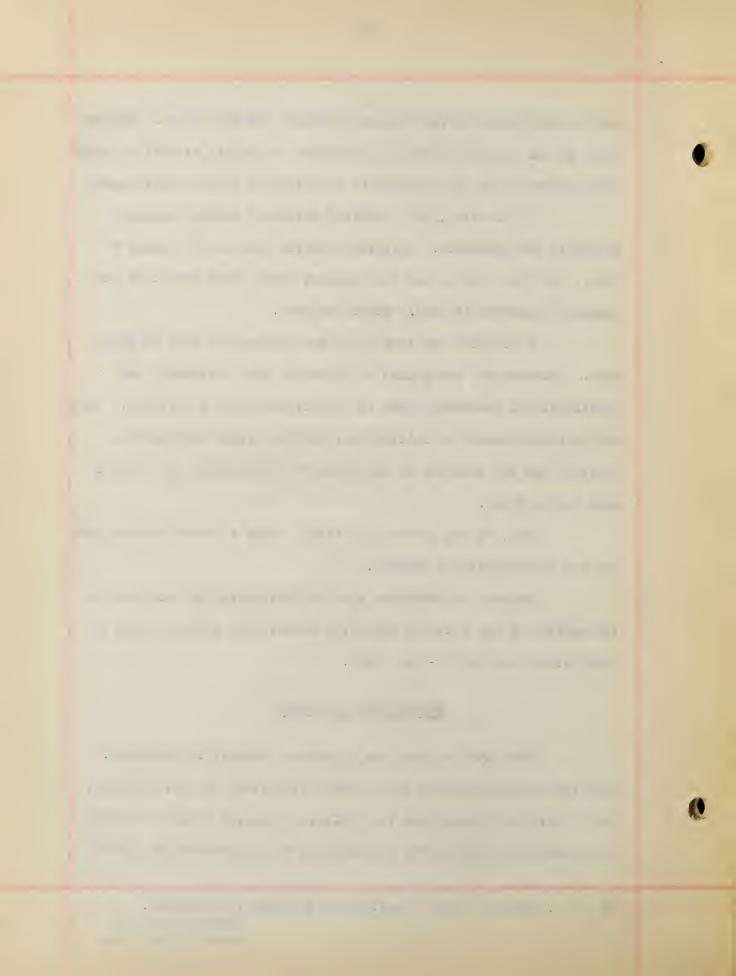
Thus, as was previously stated, these various factors paved the way for educational advance. 13

Interest in education was also stimulated at this time by the meeting of the National Education Association that was held in Charleston from July 7 - 13, 1900.

Educational Awakening

From 1900 on there was a growing interest in education. This resulted partly from the changing situation, as just outlined, but it was also largely due to a definite campaign waged by various organizations in the South, particularly the Conference for Educa-

13 E. W. Knight, Public ducation in the South, pp.424-428. Boston University School of Education Library



tion in the South.

Conference for Education in the South

It was largely through the efforts of Edwin Abbott, a preacher in St. James' Parish in Cambridge, Massachusetts, that this conference was organized. He had traveled through the South in 1897 and was very much disturbed by conditions there, -- especially the meagre facilities for schools.

The origin of the organization is described by Mr. E. W. Knight in the following words:

"In the writing room of a hotel at Capon Springs in the Blue Ridge Mountains, near the boundry between Virginia and West Virginia, Abbott told the proprietor, Captain William H. Sale, something of the need of education in the South, and proposed a plan for a conference of the friends of the cause. Sale viewed the matter with interest and later approved the plan. Abbott named a provisional committee on arrangements, a list of prominent people was drawn up and Captain Sale invited these to be guests at his hotel, a program was arranged, speakers were selected for the first meeting, and the Conference for Christian Education in the South, later changed into the Conference for Education in the South, came into being in the summer of 1898." 14

It was also known under the names of the Southern Conference Movement, the Southern Educational Movement, and the Ogden Movement.

The Conference for Education in the South carried on the work of furthering education, particularly by arousing the interest of people in the need for better schools. In 1901, it was instru-14 E.W. Knight, suucation in the U.S., pp. 463-464.

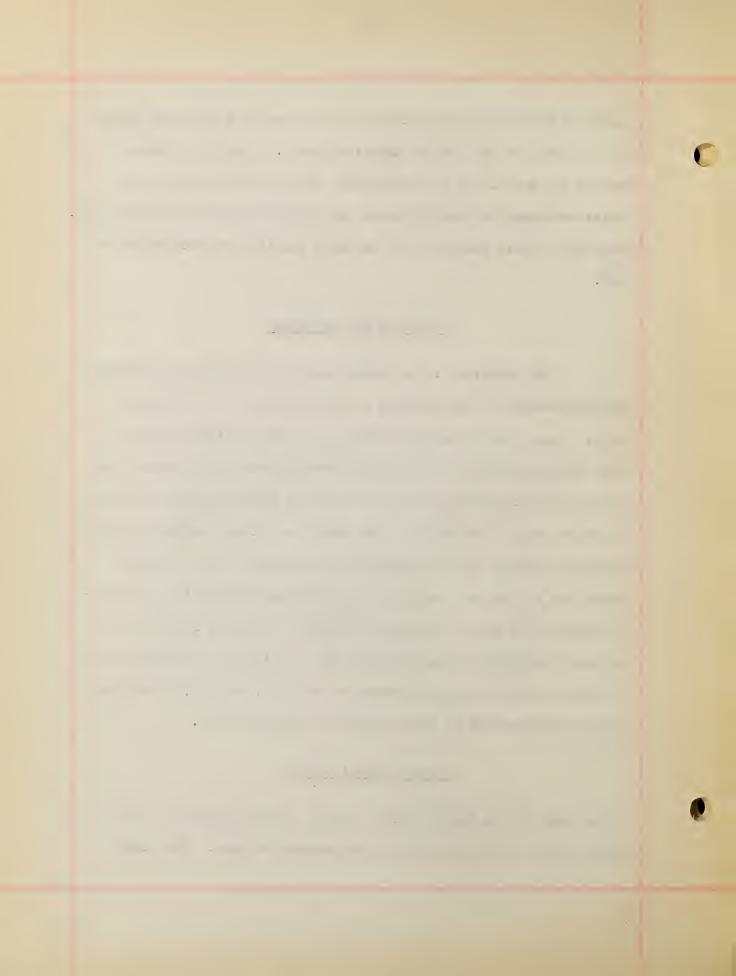
mental in securing the organization of the Southern Education Board and, in 1902, of the General Education Board. From the platform, through the press, and in conferences, these groups carried on an active campaign for more efficient and enlarged educational provisions. Their most active campaign work in South Carolina was carried on in 1904.

Fruits of the Awakening

The campaign did not cease with the one year, but continued and was rewarded by the adoption of many measures in the next few years. Among the new measures were: (1) a school library law; (2) night schools included for the enrollment grants; (3) a county five per cent school building aid law; (4) state teachers reading circle; (5) state board of education given power to approve institutions for teachers' credentials; (6) compulsory vaccination law; (7) high school law with state aid; (8) a law intended to equalize educational burdens; (9) law to lengthen the school term; (10) maximum local tax levy increased to eight mills; (11) a building law carrying state aid; (12) regulation of employment of children; and (13) graded and consolidated schools in rural districts with state aid.

Present School System

At the head of the present school system in South Carolina is the State Board of Education with rather extensive power. The board



also serves ex-officio as the state high school board with the power to control grants of state aid to high schools. The state high school inspector acts as the agent of the board.

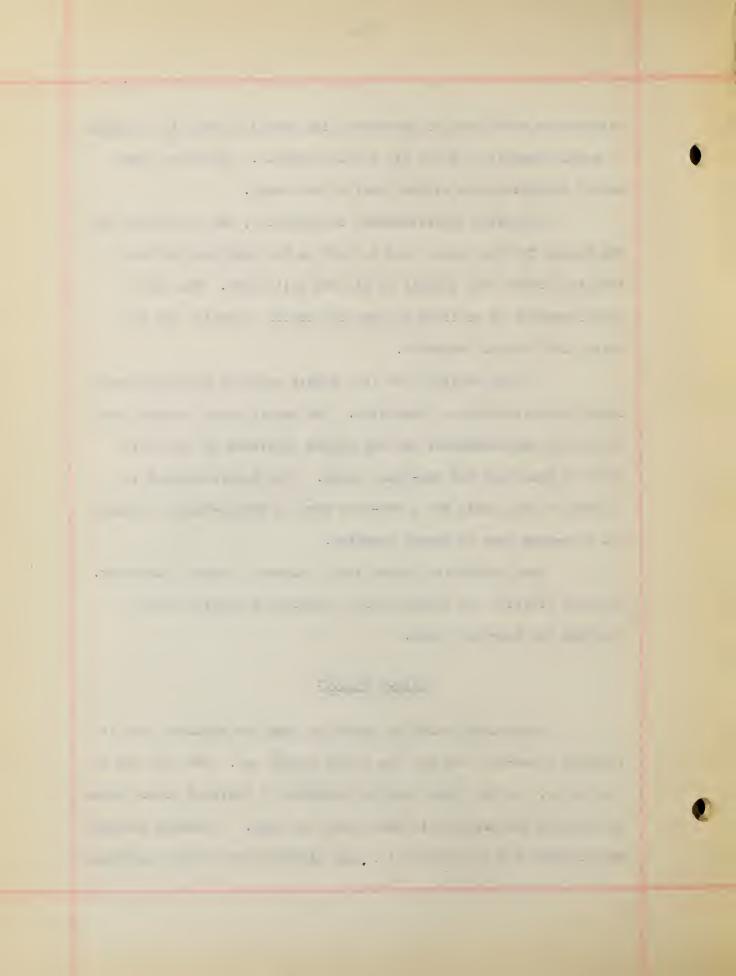
The State Superintendent of Education, who is elected by the people for two years, acts in part as the executive officer of the state board, but largely on his own initiative. The State Superintendnet is assisted by the high school inspector and the state rural school inspector.

In each county there is a county board of education and a county superintendent of education. The county board is made up of the county superintendent and two others appointed by the state board of education for two-year terms. The superintendent is elected by the people for a two-year term in twenty-three counties and four-year term in twenty counties.

Each county is divided into a number of school districts. For each district the county board of education appoints three trustees for two-year terms.

School Support

The county boards of education levy the required constitutional three-mill tax for the county school tax. The poll tax of one dollar, all dog taxes, and the proceeds of district school taxes are used by the district in which they are paid. Although the maximum district tax is eight mills, some districts which were organized

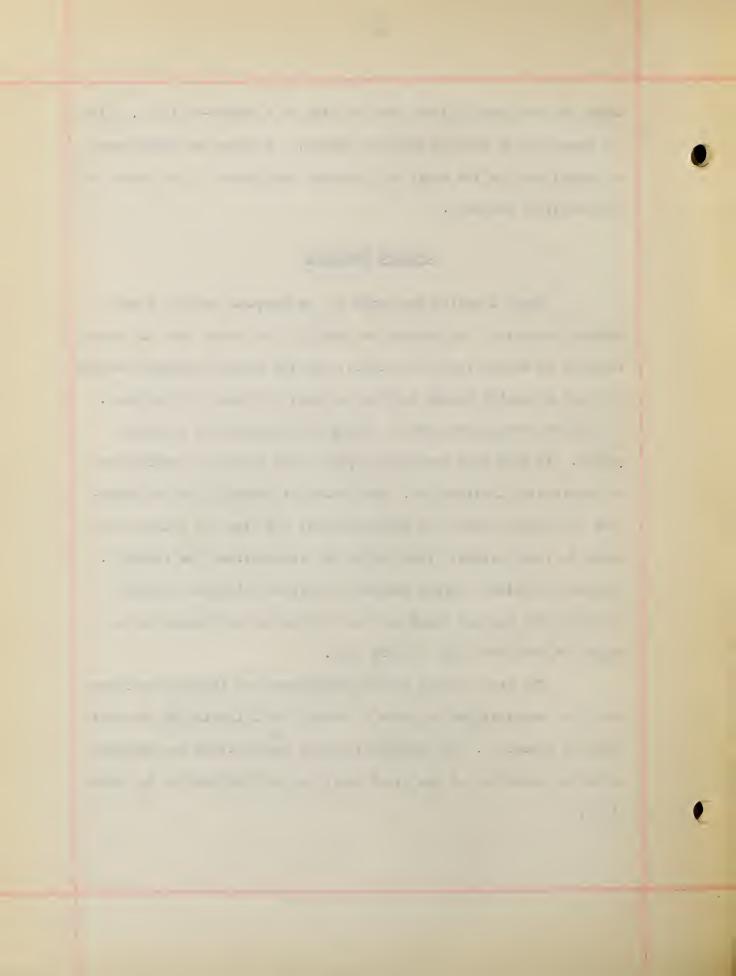


under the old special laws, vote as high as a twelve-mill tax. With the exception of certain definite grants, all state and county money is apportioned on the basis of a ten-day enrollment in the school of the county or district.

Teacher Training

South Carolina has never had an adequate supply of well trained teachers. As rapidly as possible the poorer ones are being replaced by better trained teachers, but the teacher training schools have not graduated enough teachers to meet the needs of the state. In 1913 an attempt was made to remedy the situation to a certain extent. In that year the state approved the course of instruction in twenty-nine institutions, thus making it possible for the graduates of twenty schools for white students and nine for colored students to teach without first taking the examinations for teachers. This made available larger numbers of persons with post secondary education who perhaps would not have attempted the examinations or might not have been able to pass them.

The state ruling is that candidates for teaching positions must pass examinations in order to obtain certification by the state board of education. The questions on the examinations are prepared under the direction of the state board and are uniform for the whole state.



Winthrop College

The state provides Winthrop College, the South Carolina College for Women, at Rock Hill, for training white women teachers. For colored students there is the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College at Orangeburg.

Winthrop College was first established as the Winthrop Training School for Teachers in 1886, in Columbia. In 1891 it became the South Carolina Industrial and Winthrop Normal College, in 1893 The Winthrop Normal and Industrial College of South Carolina, and in 1920 Winthrop College, the South Carolina College for Women. The College was moved from Columbia to Rock Hill in 1895.

In September 1932, Winthrop College had an enrollment of 560 students, and had 145 teachers and officers. For four years of study or a minimum of 124 semester hours, the college offers the degree of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science. For the Master of Arts degree, an additional year of reisdence work, including a satisfactory thesis, is required. The Bachelor of Science degree may be earned by majoring in Home Economics, Commercial Science, 15

State Agricultural and Mechanical College

The State Agricultural and Mechanical College was created by the Constitutional Convention of 1895. It is supported by ap-

15 Winthrop College Bulletin, catalog 1932-33, June, 1933, pp.15-29.

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propriations from the State Federal Covernments. The progress of Negro education in South Carolina is indicated by the following figures: in 1910 the enrollment of the College was 500, and work was done from kindergarten through the normal course; while in 1933 the enrollment, including summer school figures, was 906, and no work was done below high school.

Various courses of study are offered which lead to the bachelor's degree in agriculture, arts and sciences, business admin-16 istration, education, home economics, and mechanic arts.

The city of Charleston has its own city normal school, called the Memminger Normal School.

Educational Conditions

Among the conditions that make it difficult to maintain a free public school system in the state, is the large number of Negroes. There are just about six colored to every four white persons in the state. In all but ten of the counties the black people exceed the white.

The development of the school system is also hampered because the state is essentially rural and agricultural, and relatively poor.

In his "Income in the Various States",¹⁷ Maurice Leven makes clear the economic status of South Carolina. He states that in 1921, the per capita current income for the entire population in the

16 State Agricultural and Mechanical College Extension Work Bulletin, catalog 1933-34, Orangeburg, S.C., pp.14,25.

17 Maurice Leven, Income in the Various States, Based upon Estimates of the National Totals by Willford Isbell King, 1925, p.267.

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state of South Carolina was \$226. This placed the state in the fortyeighth place with only one state with a lower per capita income. Mississippi held the lowest position with an income of "207. A comparison with other states in various parts of the country bears out the statement that South Carolina is relatively poor.

Per Capita Income in 1921 in Various States

District of Columbia \$	1,174
New York	921
California	898
Massachusetts	781
Maine	546
Texas	433
North Dakota	317
South Carolina	226
Mississippi	207

Later figures, quoted by Ben F. Lemert, give the estimated wealth of South Carolina in 1929, as \$2,763,000,000 compared with \$4,442,000,000 for Georgia and \$5,429,000,000 for North Carolina.

Although some schools are open for eight or nine months, many have an even shorter term of seven months, -- the minimum required by law.

In the elementary school there are seven grades and the high school consists of grades eight, nine, ten and eleven.

18 Ben F. Lemert, The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachian Piedmont, P.124; Taken from the Blue Book of Southern Progress, 1931, p.167; "Istimates by National Conference Board."

Uniform text books are adopted for both the elementary and high school. Contracts to furnish these books are then made and the children can buy the books at contract prices from the stores designated. Some books are loaned free to poor children. The state is obliged to have separate schools for members of the white and black races by law.

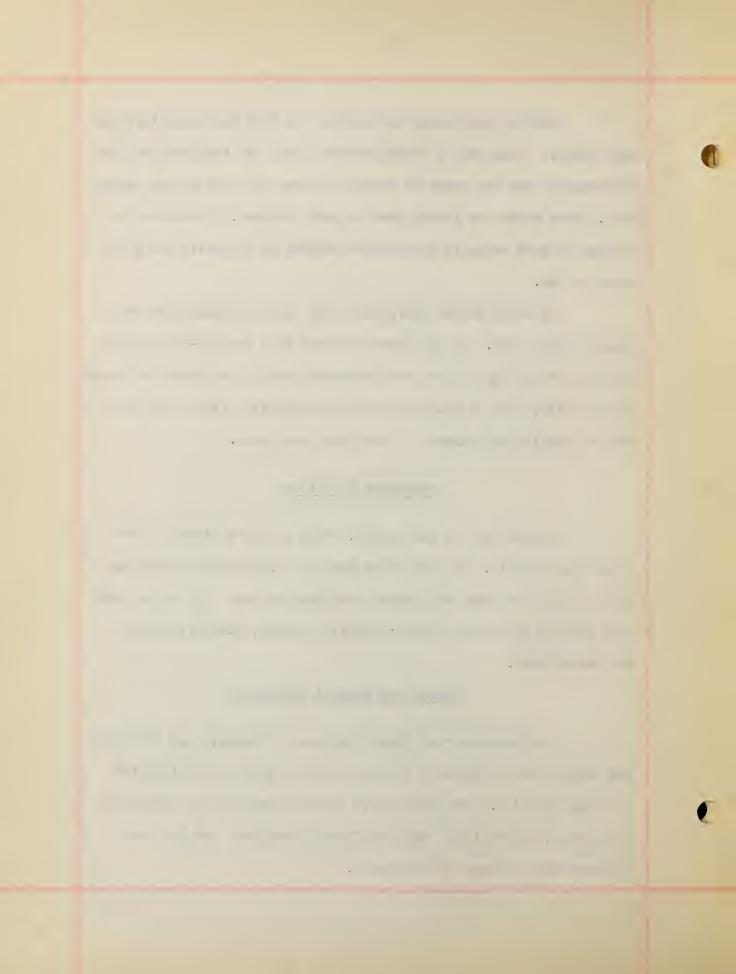
As noted before there were many special legislative acts passed before 1895. In the state are more than seventy-five school districts that enjoy many privileges and exemptions granted by these special acts, some of which have to do with taxing limits and freedom in adoption of courses of study and text books.

Secondary Education

In 1907 an act was passed, which provided state aid for rural high schools. In 1911 there were 137 high schools receiving state aid and by 1926, the number had grown to 296. All state aided high schools must offer work in manual training, domestic science, and agriculture.

Higher and Special Education

The University of South Carolina at Columbia and the Clemson Agricultural College at Clemson head the public school system of South Carolina. Two other state institutions are the Citadel at Charleston, the military college of South Carolina, and the Confederate Home College at Charleston.



The College of Charleston is a city, not a state college. The state institution offering collegiate instruction for the Negro is the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College at Orangeburg.

In addition to the state institutions for higher education there are many private and denominational colleges.

The state maintains the South Carolina Institutions for the Education of the Deaf and the Blind at Cedar Springs.

SUMMARY OF NEGRO EDUCATION

Provisions for education of the Negro may be briefly summarized as follows:

Private Efforts before 1800

In general it may be said that there were no public schools for Negroes before the Civil War. There were, however, some schools privately provided by church societies and religious groups. For instance, clergymen of the Church of England conducted schools for Negroes. One of these men, Reverend Samuel Thomas began his work in Goose Greek Parish in South Carolina in 1695. By 1705, he could count twenty Negores who could read and write. ¹⁹

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent schoolmasters to teach the Negroes to read and write, especially on religious subjects. In 1741 the society bought two

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Negroes in order to educate them so that they could serve as teachers for the colored people.

Some schools were opened by the Quakers toward the end of the eighteenth century.

For some years following the Revolution more interest was taken in the condition of the slaves than at any other period up to the Civil War. In Charleston, the free Negroes organized the "Minor Society" to take care of the education of orphan children. Other colored schools were started, and some white masters became interested in instruction for their slaves.

Change of Attitude

A change of sentiment came with the development of cotton after the invention of the cotton gin. Thus by 1800 when slavery began to increase rapidly, the relationship between master and slaves became less personal. Especially was the attitude toward education changed. Masters now wanted to restrict teaching, and even meetings through fear that the slaves would be able to read provocative literature, and use meetings as an opportunity to plot against their owners. To prevent these conditions, old laws were revived and enforced. South Carolina had, in 1740, made punishable by a fine of one hundred pounds, "to teach or cause to be taught any slave or to employ one as a scribe in any manner of writing whatever.²⁰

20 Ibid., p.60

Generally speaking, education of the Negro was ignored when not forbidden. The classes conducted by religious groups were usually very small and instruction rarely extended beyond elementary grades. That progress had been slow is demonstrated by the number of Negroes who could read and write at the close of the Civil War. E. R. Embree states that at emancipation it was estimated that less than five per cent of the four and one half million Negroes in America could read and write. ²¹ H. M. Long gives the figures as between five and ten percent at the close of the Civil War. ²²

Reconstruction

Toward the end of the War the Federal Government established the Freedman's Bureau. This organization was to look after the new wards of the government. Immediately and enthusiastically the Freedmand's Bureau began to establish elementary schools. Very soon private organizations and individuals furnished other schools.

Penn School

The first mission school to be formally organized was the Penn School in St. Helena, one of the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina. On this island lived 8,000 Negroes under the control of only 250 whites. When the Union army took Port Royal, the Whites fled and the government sent agents to collect the cotton crop and care for the Negroes. Through the efforts of these agents,

21 Ibid., p.68

22 H.M. Long, Public Secondary Education for Negroes in North Carolina, p. 1.

two Quakers, Miss Laura M. Towne and Miss Ellen Murray came down from Philadelphia in 1862 and founded Penn School. Later teachers from Hampton Institute built the school up, until today it is the feudal lord of the Sea Islands. It runs the farms, sends out nurses and midwives, holds baptisms, sees to it that roads and bridges are kept up, oversees housekeeping, directs carpenters, and so forth. ²³

Character of Reconstruction Schools

Penn School although started just before Reconstruction is an example of the best type of school founded during Reconstruction. There were many, however, that were ridiculously pretentious. Some primary schools were called colleges and universities. Often pupils who could not read English correctly, were plunged into Latin and Greek. Sometimes they struggled with algebra and geometry when they could scarcely count a few pennies.

Influence of the Schools

Some schools were very poor but some were very good. The former fell by the wayside and some of the latter continued until a state school system was put into effect. Although much effort was mis-directed and racial prejudices, overzealous reformers, and corrupt political conditions hindered progress, yet these efforts planted the roots of education for Negroes firmly in the South and prepared the way for later development of public schools for Negroes.

23 E.R. Embree, Brown America, pp.96-97.

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South Carolina College

The Reconstruction government, which was made up largely of "carpet baggers" and "scalawags", provided for a free school system, supported by the state, for all races. When South Carolina College, an institution established before the Civil War, was opened to Negroes, the other students rapidly withdrew. The result was that it became a Negroe school and is now the State College for Negroes.

Many Negroes objected to mixed schools as much as the whites did and sent a delegation to the constitutional convention of South Carolina to protest against them. Later, a law was passed making separate schools compulsory.

Public Schools

The state constitution of 1868 provided for a system of public schools, as has been already noted. Separate schools were built for the two races and at first the funds were expended without discrimination. Soon the feeling became rather general that the Negroes paid practically no taxes but were receiving as much benefit as the whites. It was also believed that the Negro needed a simpler type of education than the white and this would require less expensive methods. Tillman in South Carolina led the movement that proposed to keep "niggers in their place," and thereby save taxes through curtailing or abolishing schools for Negroes.

24 Ibid., p.116.

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Gradually the legislature passed enactments that enabled authorities to expend less money on Negro education.

At the present time Negro schools are almost always smaller, inferior, and more poorly equipped than those for whites. In fact, the buildings and equipment are generally the cast-offs of the white schools.

Influence of Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington, a graduate of Hampton Institute, became a great leader in the movement of securing education for the Negro. Even though all of his own race did not agree with his doctrine, yet he was a great force in convincing the South of its obligation for Negro education. His doctrine that, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers of the hand, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." ²⁵ won men to the cause. He was able to bring about a co-operation between northern money and southern leadership.

Philanthropic Foundations

The Philanthropic foundations have also strongly influenced and promoted education for the Negro in the South. The Peabody Fund was active soon after the Civil War. Some of the foundations created later were the Slater, Jeanes, Phelps-Stokes, Rosenwald, Carnegie, Sage, Rockefeller, Institute for Medical Research, General Education

25 Ibid., p.120

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Board, and Duke. Some of these have been devoted entirely to the welfare of the colored race and others to that of both races. The foundations do not build institutions of their own so much as they try to stimulate social and govermental forces to their own responsibility, but at the same time they assist very materially with financial contributions.

Present Conditions

The Negro schools are far behind the white schools and the white schools still lower than the national standard. But poor as are the present schools for Negroes, they represent progress, slow to be sure, but certain. Illiteracy has been reduced from ninety to ninetyfive per cent in 1865 to twenty per cent in 1930.

SUMMARY OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Because the English aristocratic idea of education was the prevailing one in early days, and because climatic and topographical conditions fostered the plantation system and slavery, there naturally was no incentive toward public school education during the colonial period. All education during that time was confined to tutorial instruction and study abroad among the wealthy, and private charity schools and apprenticeship among the poor.

The first provision of any kind for promoting public education was in 1710, when Charleston was granted permission to establish

a free school. The meaning of free was simply that it was open to anyone who could pay the tuition fee. But there was one element of real free public education, as the term is used today, in that twelve scholars were to be admitted without payment in exchange for the free use of lands and buildings.

Generally speaking, however, promotion of a public school system free to all white children did not begin until after 1800, and it was not until 1868 that constitutional provision for education was made.

No provision was made for public schools for the colored race until after the Civil War.

Considering that the following factors stood in the way of public school education before the Civil War: (1) an aristocratic conception of education; (2) scattered settlements; (3) a sparsely populated region; (4) poor means of communication; (5) the plantation system; (6) slavery of the colored race; (7) Negroes outnumbering whites; (8) wealth in the hands of a few; -- and that after the Civil War and during Reconstruction, the following factors were added: economic desolation; property destruction; hugh debts; corrupt politics; --- it is clearly evident why education in South Carolina and other southern states lagged far behind progress in the North.

Since the Civil War and especially since 1900 the free public school system has evolved rather rapidly until now there is a state system of separate schools for the whites and Negroes. It is a fact, though, that the schools for white children are far below the

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national standard and the Negro schools are inferior to those for the whites.

One reason for the low standard of the schools is the short school terms that prevail in the state. .nother weakness in the present school system, which is frequently lamented by supervisors and superintendents, is the lack of efficient compulsory attendance laws. According to the state superintendent of education in 1926, less than seventy-four percent of the white children and less than seventy percent of the colored children attended school regularly in 1925. He also says, "So long as South Carolina has within her borders 38,000 whites and 181,000 Megroes who cannot read and write and, in addition, many more thousands who have never passed beyond the second grade, the State cannot expect to develop as its native resources and climate would warrant."

The figures for 1931-1932 show that with an enrollment of 113,637 pupils in the thirty-nine school systems in cities of 2,500 population or more, the daily attendance averaged only 95,266. Although these figures show a neglect on the part of the public to take advantage of their opportunities, they also indicate the growth in the schools within practically the last sixty years. The figures quoted earlier to show the condition of education in the counties of the state in 1869, gave a total of 16,468 pupils enrolled for that year as compared with an enrollment of 113,837 in 1931-1932.

26 Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the State Supt. of Educ. 1926, p.7. 27 Ibid., p.51

- 28 Statistics of City School Systems for year 1931-1932., Dept.of Interior, Bulletin, 19 3, No.2, pp.36-37.
- 29 Many facts have been taken from Monroe's Cyclopedia of Education, pp. 369-372. Beginning with legislative acts of 1710, the article includes and summarizes much material also found in other scattered sources.

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Chapter V

THE INFLUENCE OF COTTON RAISING ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA



Chapter V

The Influence of Cotton Raising

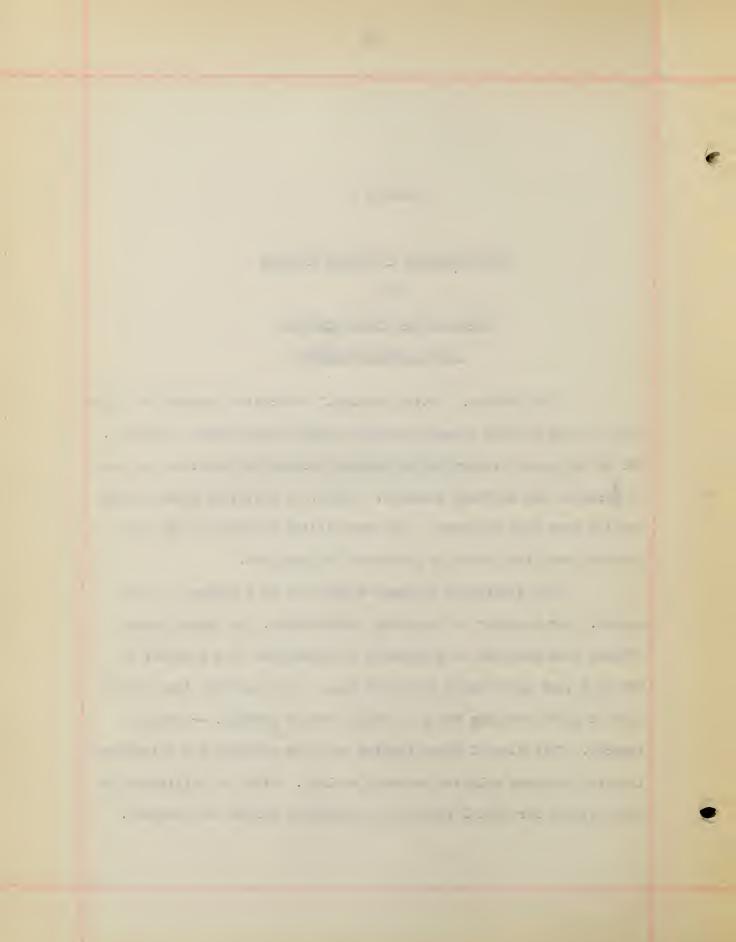
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Education in South Carolina

The Plantation System

The phrases, "cotton raising," and "cotton production in the South" bring to mind large plantations with cares planted to cotton. Yet in the early history of our country the word plantations was used to designate the southern colonies. Later, as privately owned village estates came into existence, they were called plantations and the colonies were then known as provinces or dominions.

The plantation arrangment grew out of a system of land grants. For in order to encourage colonization, the London Company offered land holdings to colonizers in proportion to the number of men that they could bring over with them. The colonist then rented land to these settlers who plid their rent in produce, -- usually tobacco. This plan of share renting on large holdings was introduced into the Southern colonies as early as 1636. With the utilization of negro slaves for menial labor, the plantation system was complete.



In many respects the plantation system resembled the manor system, but, unlike the serfs, the slaves were not attached to the land by law and custom, and som the labor supply was more mobile. Slaves were sold to other masters or, at a later date, often moved westward with their owners.

In order to have a plantation system there must be a large acreage of cheap, fertile land; workers of low social status, submissive, and comparatively cheap; products which are staples obtained through routine crops easily cultivated by set rules, and also cash crops that can be readily marketed.

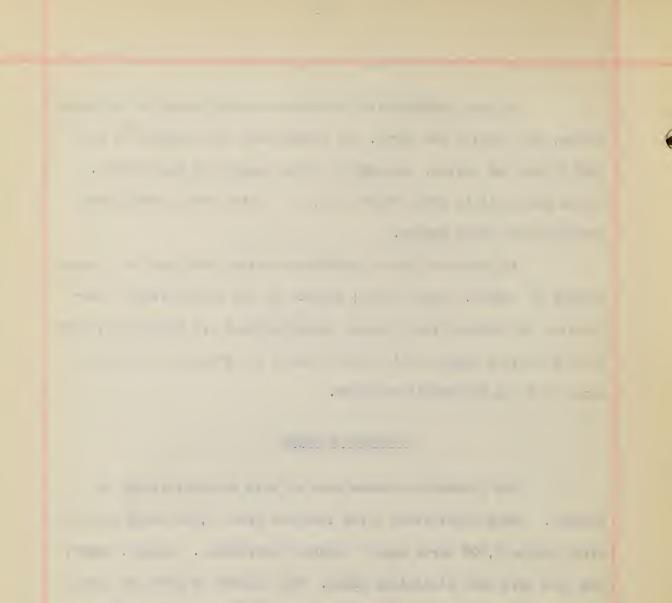
Plantation Crops

The plantation system grew up with the cultivation of tobacco. Large plantations often included over 5,000 acres of land with perhaps 1,000 acres under tobacco cultivation. Indigo, sugar, and rice were also plantation crops. The culture of rice and indigo had begun to decline and tobacco was proving too exhausting to the soil when the invention of the cotton gin suddenly increased the cotton production. This rapid increase in cotton growing revived the declining plantation system and even extended it. 1

The Cotton Plantation

The plantation offered favorable conditions for cotton raising and this in turn furnished conditions particularly suited to

1 R. B. Vance, Human Factors in Cotton Culture, p.232



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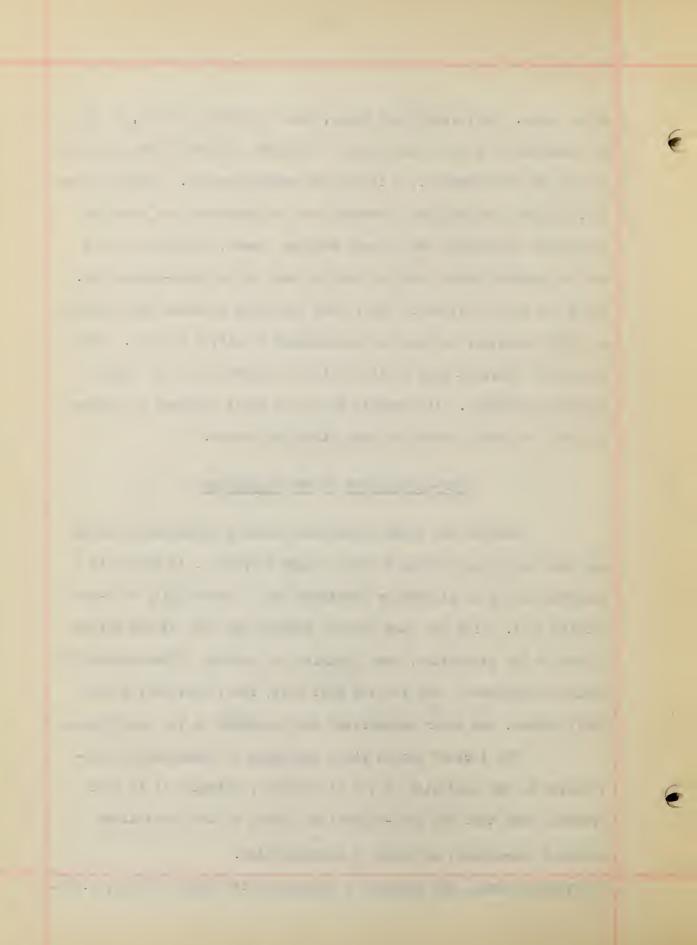
slave labor. In raising many crops, such as wheat and corn, it is not feasible to have large groups of laborers gathered together under the eye of an overseer, as is done in growing cotton. When the hoeing, picking and chopping processes are in operation, all hands on the cotton plantation can be used because women, children and old men can perform these types of work as well as the able-bodied men. Since the slave rations of corn, pork and sweet potatoes were raised on the plantation, the cost of maintenance of slaves was low. Even the slaves quarters were built by slave carpenters out of lumber from new clearings. It probably cost only about fourteen to fifteen dollars in actual money for each slave for a year.

Self-sufficiency of the Plantation

Because the large plantations covered thousands of acres and even small ones extended over a large territory, it naturally followed that each plantation developed into a practically self-supporting unit. With the cash secured through the sale of the cotton raised on the plantation, some luxuries and perhaps a few essentials could be purchased. But for the most part, food, clothing, tools, fuel, lumber, and other necessities were produced on the plantations.

The lack of decent roads and means of communication contributed to the isolation of the plantations, although it is also probably true that the self-supporting nature of the plantations retarded improvement in means of communication.

2 Katherine Coman, The Industrial History of the United States, p.211.



Education on the Plantation

Education in South Carolina was treated in the previous chapter. It was pointed out that the whole attitude toward education was aristocratic. The wealthy land owners expected to educate their children, particularly their sons, but saw no reason why the overseers and tenant farmers needed any education to speak of, and certainly the Negroes needed none at all. Indeed, the general feeling was that the Negro would be unable to learn, and if he were by any chance capable of doing so, that to allow it would threaten the social order. As has been already noted, at one time, there was a slight tendency toward simple education for the Negro, but, in general, it is true that the owners of plantations were not in sympathy with education for any persons outside of their own stratum of society. For the most part, the Negroes shared the idea that education was a special dispensation allowed "quality white folks."

Because of the isolation of the plantations, due to distances and poor roads, it was practically impossible for children of the gentry to gather in classes. It was also unthinkable to have classes composed of whites and Negroes, therefore, the children of owners were tutored in their homes, and sons often sent to England or the Continent to finish their education. The rest of the children on the plantations received no schooling.

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Influence of Cotton Raising on Education

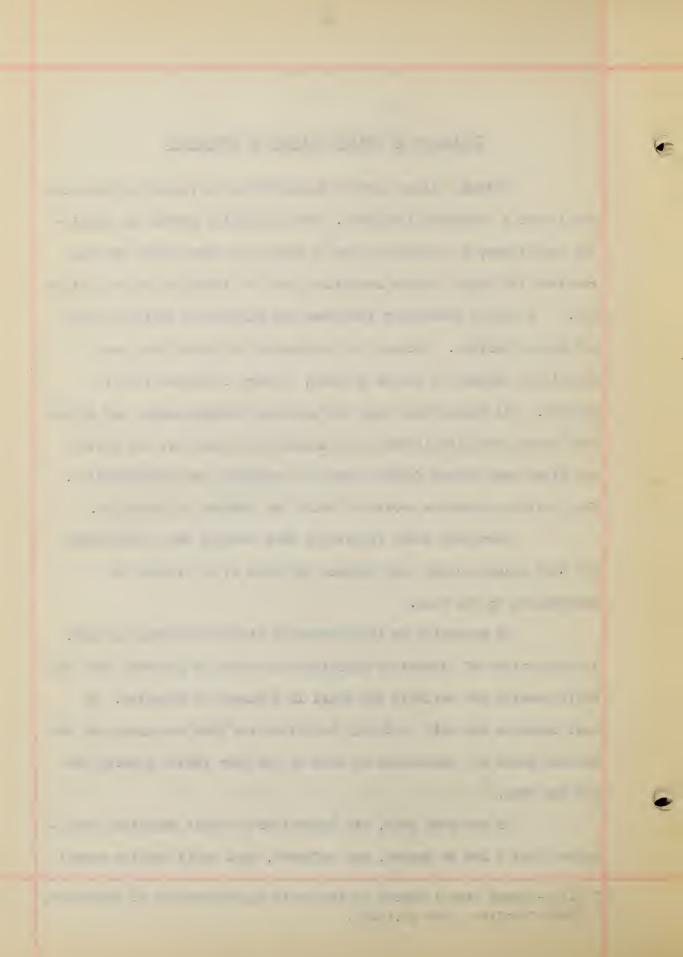
Cotton raising exerted considerable influence on education but it was a retarding influence. The plantation system was declining and slavery was showing signs of dying out when cotton growing received the great impetus resulting from the invention of the cotton gin. As cotton production increased the plantation system revived and spread farther. Because the employment of negro labor was peculiarly adapted to cotton growing, slavery increased rather rapidly. All indications that the barriers between master and slaves were being gradually lowered were immediately wiped cut and master and slave were forced farther apart in interests and understanding. Thus cotton production served to delay the advance of education.

Even much later in history when schools were established for both races, school laws allowed children to be excused for emergencies on the farm.

In reporting on the elementary school situation in 1926, the Supervisor of Elementary Education said that he observed that the daily session was entirely too short in a number of counties. In most cases he was told that this condition was only temporary and the session would be lengthened as soon as the busy cotton picking season was over.

In the same year, the Supervisor of Adult Education recommended that a law be passed, and enforced, that would require school

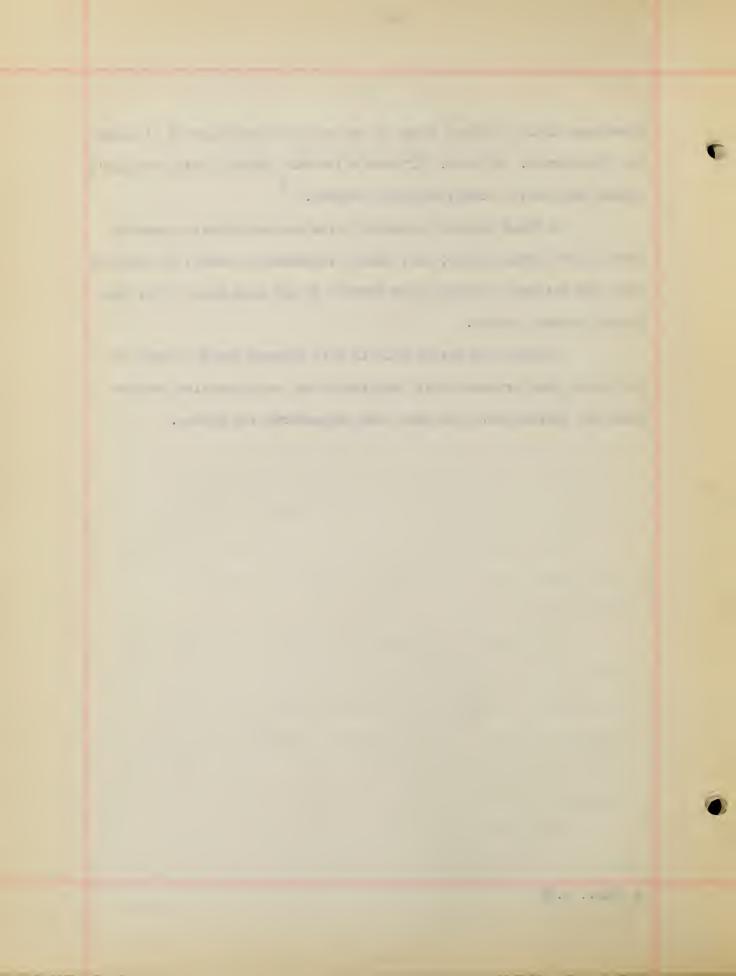
3 Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education, South Carolina, 1926 pp.22-23.



attendance until fourteen years of age and the completion of at least the fifth grade. He adds, "If such a law were passed South Carolina's cotton crop would automatically be reduced."

As these reports indicated, even now compulsory education bows to the cotton system, and, since attendance at school is sporadic until the cotton is picked, many schools do not open until after the picking season is over.

Although the points made in this chapter apply to much of the South, they are peculiarly applicable to South Carolina because there the Negroes have for some time outnumbered the whites.



Chapter VI

THE INFLUENCE OF COTTON MANUFACTURING ON EDUCATION IN NEW ENGLAND



Chapter VI

THE INFLUENCE OF COTTON MANUFACTURING ON EDUCATION

IN NEW ENGLAND

SPINNING SCHOOLS

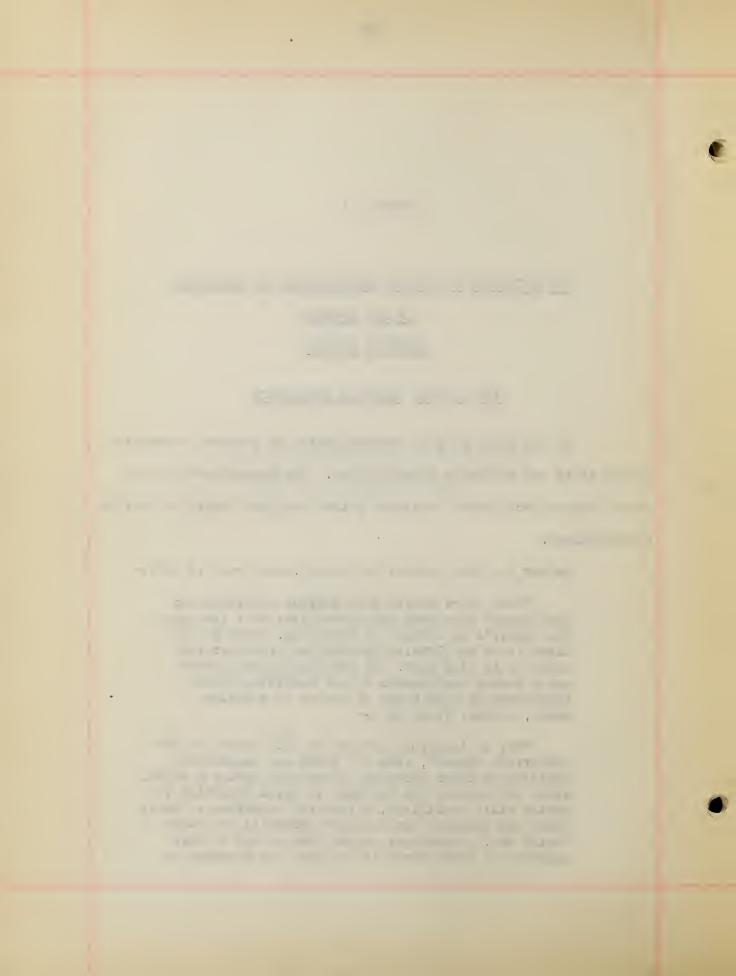
Acts Making Spinning Compulsory

In the early days in Massachusetts the problem of securing enough cloth was evidently a serious one. The Massachusetts court passed several acts which regulated prices and gave bounty to textile manufacturers.

On May 14, 1656, an act was passed, which read in part :-

"This Court taking into serjous consideration the present streights and necessitjes that lye uppon the countrje in respect of cloathing, which is not liked to be so plentifully suppljed from forraigne parts as in tjes past, and not knowing any better way & meanes conduceable to our subsistence then improoving as many hands as may be in spinning woole, cotton, flaxe &c, --

"Itt is therefore ordered by this Court and the authoritje thereof, that all hands not necessarily emploide on other occasions as woemen, girles & boyes, shall and heereby are enjoyned to spinn according to theire skill & abilitje; & that the selectmen in euery toune doe consider the condicon & capacitje of euery family and, accordingly assess them at one or more spinners; & since severall familyes are necessarily



imployd the greatest part of their time in other buisness, yet if opportunitjes were attended, sometime might be spare: at advantage by some of them for this worke. The sajd select men shall therefore assess such familyes at half or a quarter of a spinner, according to their capacitjes; secondly, that every one thus assessed for a whole spiner doe, after this present yeare, 1656, spinn for 30 weekes euery yeare, three pounds p weeke of lining, cotton, or woolen, & the select men shall take special care for the execution of this order and shall have power to make such orders in theire respective tounes for the clearing of comons for keeping of sheepe. And the deputjes of the severall tounes are hereby required to impart the mind of the Cort, for the saving of ye seede both of hemp and flaxe." 1

Some writers have considered this act and some previous ones as amounting to provisions for vocational education. If vocational education is interpreted to mean learning to do by doing and acquiring skill by practice, this interpretation seems justified. It is also fair to suppose that in providing the number of spinners required by law, younger members of the family would have to be taught to spin, and would thus be furnished with vocational education.

Whether or not this early spinning is considered vocational education, there can be no doubt that the spinning schools of later date fall under this category.

Spinning Schools

As early as April 13, 1702, the selectmen of Boston voted to buy some spinning wheels to provide work for the poor. However, it was

1. C.J.H. Woodbury, Textile Iducation Among the Puritans, pp.359-360.

a long time before spinning schools were established. Even before the town provided schools, some Irish spinners came to Boston, in 1718, and formed a spinning school which met at Boston Common. So much enthusiasm was aroused over spinning, and women of all classes became so interested in it, that from the time began what is often referred to as, the "spinning craze." ²

On March 14, 1720, the town of Boston voted to establish a spinning school in which pupils would receive free instruction; also board for the first three months would be provided, after which time yarn would be bought from them, and premiums given for good work. Twenty spinning wheels were ordered and three hundred pounds loaned to the school for eeven years. Probably a school was located in Scolly Square because the site recommended was "the 'cellar most made', in front of Captain Southacks,"which is the site of the Scollay building formerly in Scollay's Square.

According to some authorities the town meeting of September 28, 1720, resulted in the erection of a large building called the Manufactury House on the corner of what is now Tremont Street and Hamilton Place. On the westerly wall of the building was painted a large figure of a woman with a distaff. The Manufactury House was purchased by action of the Provincial Legislature in 1748, and it also granted the town of Boston four townships for its support, as well as the use of the Provincial Frigate for the transportation of pupils. This would indicate that the schools were not only local

2 Ibid., p.366. 3 Ibid., p.367.

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but also provincial, and explains why board was provided for the pupils.

In 1735 the Province provided support for the school by a tax levied on carriages. This statute was repealed in 1753, but in the same year Boston passed an ordinance for a similar tax for the same purpose.

In 1762, it was ordered that the Manufactury House be sold but the sale did not take place, and it remained standing until 1806, when Hamilton Place was cut through the site.

Boston, in 1754, followed Charlestown's example of the previous year, by voting to use the Old Town House for a spinning school. Fifty pounds, old tenor, was appropriated to put into repair this old building which stood where the present Old State House now stands.

When it was decided, in 1769, to set up spinning schools in various parts of Boston, Mr. Molyneaux secured the use of the Manufactory House for seven years by paying to the Province an annual rental of five peppercorns. In other words, Mr. Molyneaux secured the building for a nominal rent. Peppercorn is often used to mean anything small and trifling -- probably because real peppercorns, the fruit or seed of the pepper plant, are very small and rather insignificant. The use of the word in regard to rent signifies the payment of a nominal rent for the purpose of having the tenancy acknowledged by the tenant. 4

4 Ibid., pp.367-369.

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After an existence of over fifty years, the spinning school movement was terminated by the Revolution.

Perhaps the schools were small and possibly there were not many of the, but fifty years of activity must have meant that a large number of people learned the art of spinning.

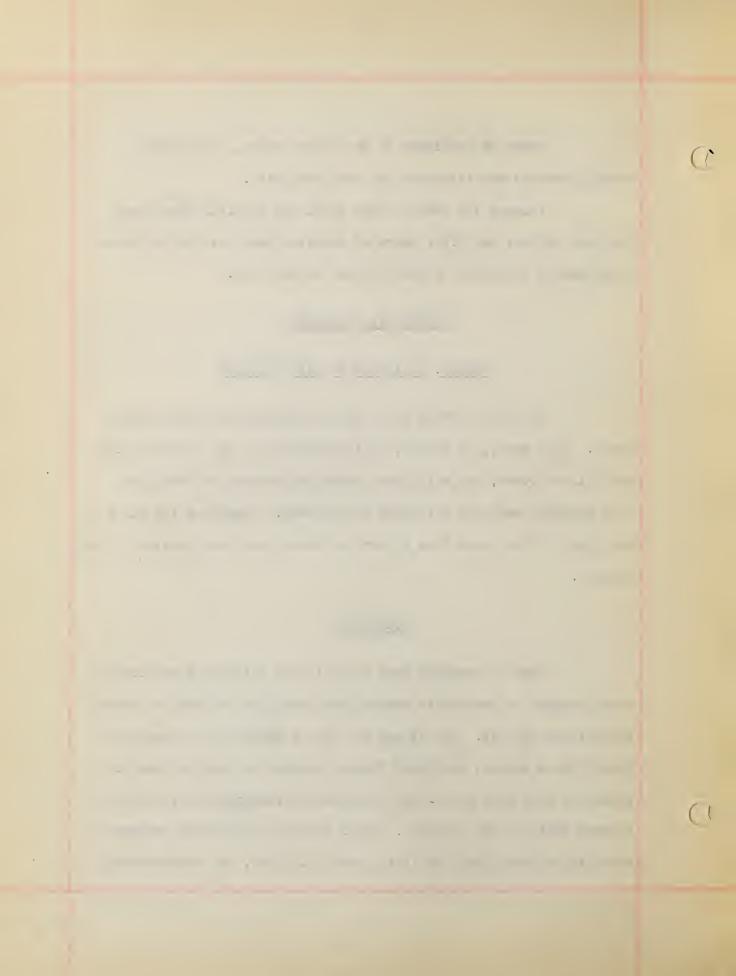
COTTON MILL VILLAGES

General Isolation of Mill Villages

The early cotton mills in New England were run by water power. This meant, of course, that regardless of the distance from established towns, the mills were set up by streams in locations that promised most for efficient water power. Sometimes the mills were built a few miles from a town but often they were located in new country.

Education

Thus it happened that in most mill villages education had to be brought to the people because they were too far away to attend established schools. For it was not just a matter of the number of miles from a school, but other factors entered in, such as lack of roads, or very poor ones, lack of means of transportation, and the extreme youth of the children. Older children could have overcome some difficulties that the little ones could not, but unfortunately



only the very young children of were free to attend school. Most children of ten or more, and many even younger, were working in the mills and had absolutely no time to travel to school since the hours in the mills were from five in the morning until seven or eight in the evening, with a short time allowed for breakfast and dinner. Thus because of their comparatively isolated position, cotton mills, as a general rule, furnished whatever education the employees and their children received.

Since in most of the mill villages the owners of the mills were furnishing houses for families, boarding houses for single men and women, a general store, a bank, light and water service, a doctor, recreational facilities, and sometimes a church, it seemed only natural they should also attend to educational matters both for children and adults.

As population increased and school systems extended, most mill schools were turned over to the public school authorities, even though in many cases the mills continued to contribute to their maintenance.

In "Lowell an Industrial Dream Come True", Mr. H. C. Meserve gives perhaps the best picture available of education in a northern mill village. This will be described more in detail after indicating the part that the mills played in education in towns surrounding.

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PAWTUCKET, RHODE ISLAND

When cotton manufacturing was first begun in Pawtucket, it was hard to obtain operatives. Many of those secured were poor children who had had little opportunity to secure even an elementary education.

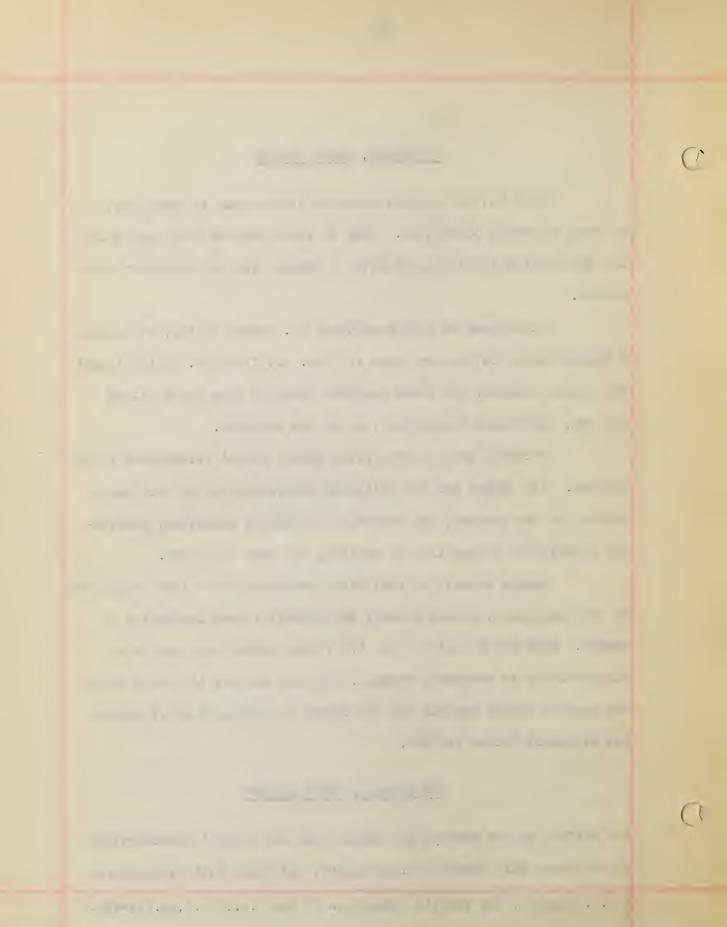
Distressed at this condition, Mr. Samuel Slater, established a Sunday school in his own house in 1793. At first Mr. Slater taught the school himself, but later employed students from Rhode Island College, (now Brown University), to do the teaching.

Probably this was the first Sunday school established in New England. Its object was not religious instruction as in the Sunday schools of the present, but rather an elementary education, consisting principally of reading and writing, for poor children.

Sunday schools of this kind, patterned after those organized by the Englishman, Robert Raikes, had gradually been increasing in number. Many years earlier, in 1737, John Wesley had set up a Sunday school in Savannah, Georgia, but this did not live very long, and secular Sunday schools did not amount to very much until worked out by Robert Raikes in 1780.

PEACE DALE, RHODE ISLAND

The welfare of the workers has always been the special consideration of the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company, and along with other provi-5 N.R. Bagnall, The Textile Industries of the U.S., Vol.1, pp.161-162.



sions for their betterment, a Sunday school was organized in 1854. Excellent educational facilities were provided by the company and its individual members. In one building a large room was furnished for a library for the operatives. Then, too, in the same building was a large hall which the people of the village were free to use for a lyceum, for lectures, and for social purposes.

WALTHAM, MASSACHUSETTS

While Francis Cabot Lowell was in Europe for his health in 1811, he became interested in the possibilities of future cotton manufacturing in America. With this in view he visited textile mills in Lunchester, England, where he made a careful study of the whole industry. Mr. Lowell made up his mind that the low character and unhappy conditions of the cotton mill operatives in England should not be true of the workers in any mills that he might establish in America.

Mr. Lowell was an important member of the Waltham Company that was formed in 1813, and which built a mill in Waltham, Massachusetts. Here Mr. Lowell tried out all the plans that he had formulated by reason of his conviction that efficient means must be provided for the moral and physical welfare of the employees. His scheme was afterward called the "Waltham System".

In the Waltham System, at its own cost, the company provided boarding houses under the charge of carefully chosen matrons. It also furnished religious instruction, free schools for the children of the

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operatives, and supported churches for the benefit of the employees.

LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS

After a few years the Waltham Company was so successful that it became necessary to expand. The problem was to find a place where more water power was available, and, solely because of its advantages for textile manufacturing, the site of Lowell was chosen. At that time, 1620, the section was known as East Chelmsford, Massachusetts, but 1626, it was incorporated as a separate town and named "Lowell" in honor of Francis Cabot Lowell.

Policy of the Mills

Although Mr. Lowell died before the Merrimack Manufacturing Company located at Bast Chelmsford, his plan for the protection and comfort of employess, which had proved successful in Waltham, was instituted in the new mill village. Neat, well-kept board-houses were built, and later the Honorable Frederick Greenhalge, in an eulogy on Lowell, spoke thus, '"Religion, culture, and refinement lent their sweet influence to the life of toil. Not this alone, but a new doctrine was proclaimed, -- that the welfare of the employed was a necessary factor to the success of the employer. They were one in interest, one in the loss and one in the gain; one in prosperity and one in adversity. Milton tells of a music so divine that it would create a soul under the ribs of death. Francis Cabot Lowell dis-

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covered and applied a principle that created a soul under ribs of industrial economy."

In 1824, the Merrimack Company built the first school house for the children of those who worked in the mills. During the next year the first church was built by the company which practically maintained it. By furnishing home, church and school for its operatives, the mills provided the most important elements of society. This idea that corporation should have a paternal influence over the lives of their employees has been referred to as the "Waltham System" but in the economic world it is spoken of as the "Lowell Factory System".

The Operative-Type-Health-Life

When the Lowell cotton mills were started women were only beginning to earn their living outside the home in any other way than by teaching. As a result of conditions in Ingland and France, the worker in a factory was looked down upon as being very low in the social scale. On the other hand, partly because the wages offered were comparatively high, a splendid type of woman was found in the early Lowell mills. As these women, or girls, returned to their homes for holidays, their accounts of the opportunities to be found in the mill village brought others to enjoy the advantages of night school; lyceum loctures provided by the Lowell Institute, the lechanics .ssociation, and other similar organizations; the circulating libraries; and various clubs and societies for advancement and re-

8 Ibid., pp.47-48.

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creation.

Several of the early workers in the Lowell mills later became well known in public life: among these were Lucy Larcom, the poetess; her sister Emmeline, a writer; Harriet N. Robinson, a pioneer of `omen's Suffrage and one of the founders of the General Federation of "omen's Clubs; Margaret Foley, a sculptor; and Harriet Curtis, a writer,

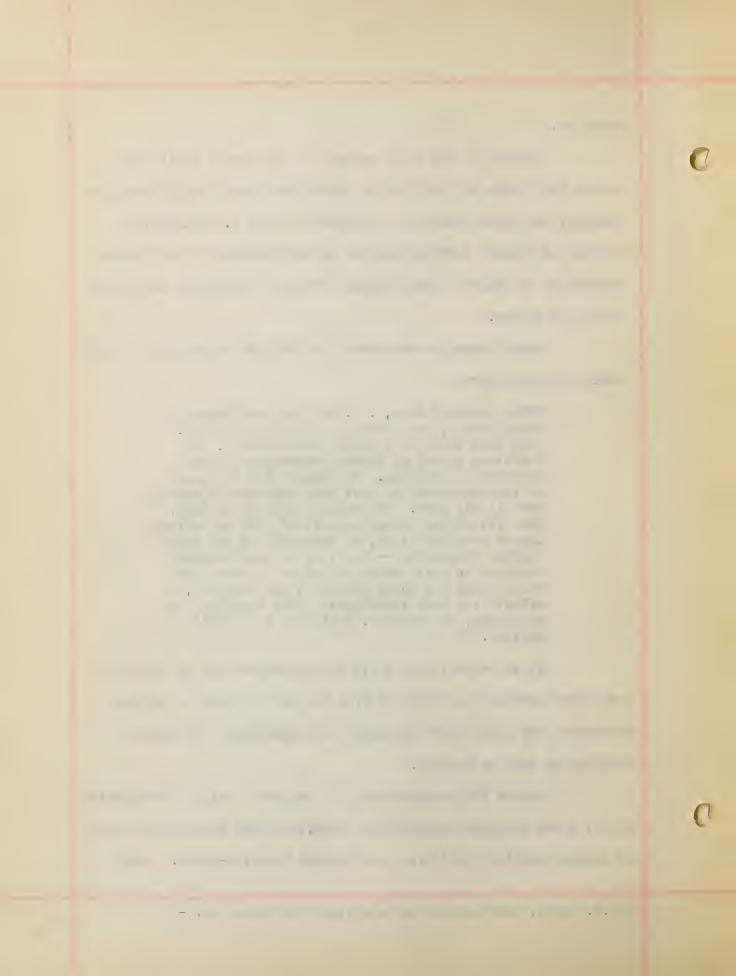
Lucy Larcom has expressed the attitude of the girls toward their work as follows:

> "They reasoned thus,That the manufacture of cloth should, as a brand of feminine industry, ever have suffered a shadow of discredit, will doubtless appear to future generations a most ridiculous barbarism. To prepare the clothing of the work seems to have been regarded as womanly work in all ages. The spindle and the distaff, the picturesque accompaniments of many an ancient legend -- of Penelope, of Lucretia, of the Fatal Sisters themselves -- have, to be sure changed somewhat in their modern adaption to machinery which robes the human millions; but they are, in effect, the same instruments, used to supply the same need, at whatever, period of the world's history."

It is evident that girls who possessed such an attitude were very different in every way from the mill workers in England at that time, and also unlike the usual mill operatives of today in American as well as England.

When a girl entered the mill she had to sign a "Regulation Faper", which required, among other things, that she attend some place of worship regularly and live in a company boarding-house. Strict

9 A.D.Dulany, Lucy Larcom, Life, Letters and Diary, pp.7-8.



morality was required and instant dismissall followed the slightest infringement. Dismissal was worse than punishment because discharge from the mill made it practically impossible to secure employment in another mill.

That the health of women, who had come from country life to be shut into mills for from twelve to fifteen hours a day, did not show signs of deteriorating seemed to astonish many visitors to the mills. That the girls maintained their robust health was doubtless due to the paternal attitude of the companies that carefully supervised all phases of their living. Their food was plain and wholesome, their hours for retiring sensible, and all kinds of healthful measure provided, -- with the possible exception of long working hours. Yet, the hours of work, though long, were broken by many periods of waiting until machines needed attention. For example, Lucy Larcom, at the age of eleven, worked from five in the morning until seven at night changing bobbins, but the bobbins had to be changed only every three quirters of an hour.

In the early part of the nineteenth century there were very few hospitals in the country and only three are recorded for New England. But from the beginning of the Lowell mills, there was a regulation that one room in each tenement must be kept unoccupied for us in case of sickness. Medical aid was also always quickly supplied. The first hospital in the country, and probably the first in the world to be established by an industry, was founded by the

mill corporations in 1841.

Other protective measures, such as brick sidewalks across the yards, running water in mills and tenements, (before any water works in New England), steam heat in the mills, and a sewerage system to carry away waste water from bleacheries and dye houses, helped in keeping the workers in good health.

The Lowell Offering

In one of the mill boarding houses of which their mother served as matron, lived Lucy and Emmeline Larcom.

Emmeline started two or three little papers which were brought out fortnightly. The other girls in the house contributed articles to the "Casket", "The Bouquet", and "The Diving Bell", as each in its turn existed for a few months. An interest in writing was aroused by these short-lived attempts and two more magazines of a more serious type were started in 1840. These magazines, called the "Operatives' Magazine" and "The Lowell Offering" united in 1842 and continued under the latter name. The contributions to the magazine included clever sketches of home life, humorous and pathetic tales, fairy stories, and poems. The magazine was unique in that the editors and contributors were mill girls but the subscription list included people from all over the country, and at one time contained four thousand names. ¹⁰

The Lowell Offering attracted attention not only in this

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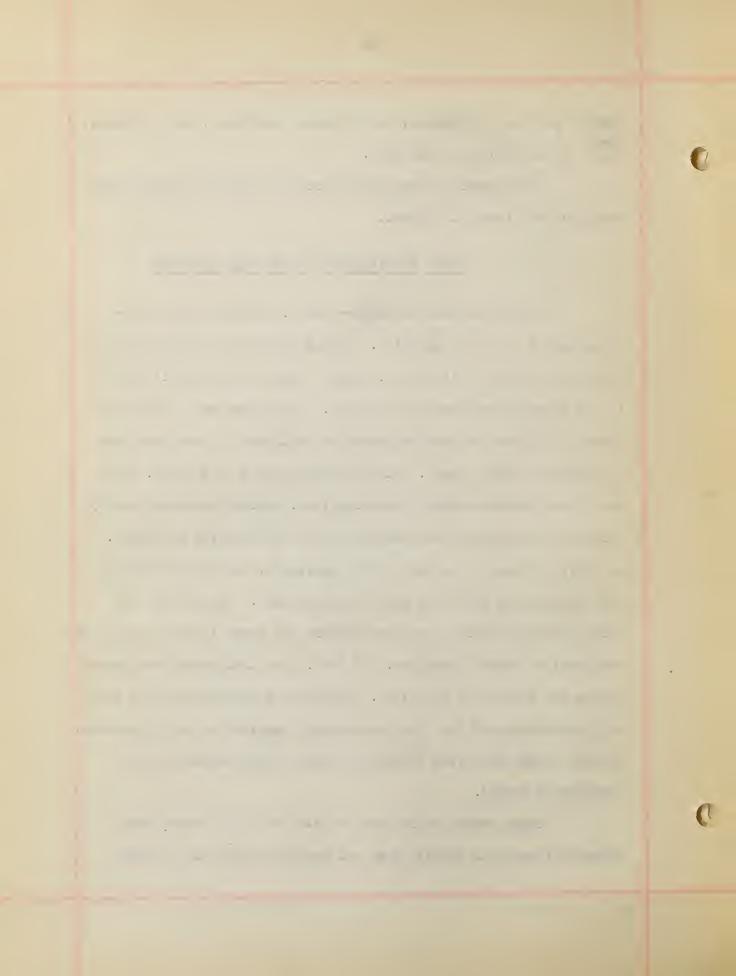
country but also in England, where copies were bound, and in France, where it was issued in book form.

fter several successful years the paper was discontinued from lack of financial support.

Later Developments in the Will Villages

The corporation boarding--houses, opened in 1822, continued until the early nineties. It was a system of housing that brought no profit to the mills, indeed much of the time it added to the overhead expenses of the mills. The houses were continued, however, in order to provide homes for employees at less cost than in privately owned houses. Since in this method of housing, from two to six persons shared a sleeping room, success depended largely upon securing groups whose members had the same social standards. At first all operatives were native Americans, but gradually they were replaced by people of other nationalities. About 1832, the Irish entered the mills in large numbers and these in turn were later displaced by French Canadians. By 1882, many immigrants from eastern Europe had flocked to the mills. Different nationalities with varying standards could not live harmoniously together in small quarters, and so, many operatives of foreign birth lived outside of the corporation houses.

These newer people also objected to having board money deducted from their monthly wage and wanted to find all of their



money in their pay envelopes. Therefore, since the operatives no longer desired the corporation houses, the company discontinued them in the early nineties.

Just as the lack of homogeneity caused disruption of the corporation housing scheme, so it also caused changes in the whole social life in the villages. After the corporations in Lowell, and other mill towns, began to pay the emloyess higher money wages, they exercised little supervision over the lives of these aliens who preferred to live in communities of their own. For a time very little welfare work was carried on by the mills, but after a while efforts were renewed to improve the conditions of the workers.

The great number of immigrants to the United States have been past the age of compulsory school attendance. Then, too, the mill schools had been absorbed by the public school system. Nevertheless, there was plenty of opportunity for the mills to carry on welfare and educational work.

Educational Work in a Lowell Mill in 1923

In a representative Lowell mill the following activities of an educational nature were carried on in 1923.

1. Naturalization classes for both men and women.

2. A three-year course in Americanization included instruction in oral English, French, mathematics, history and civil government.

- 3. A department of home economics furnished classes in cooking, dressmaking, home nursing and hygiene.
- 4. The Women's Social and Educational Club included among its activities, athletics, dramatics, dances and social gatherings.
- 5. The cafeteria lunch room within the mill was managed by the employees.
- 6. The Women's Industrial Club carried on many activities, some of which were of a charitable nature.

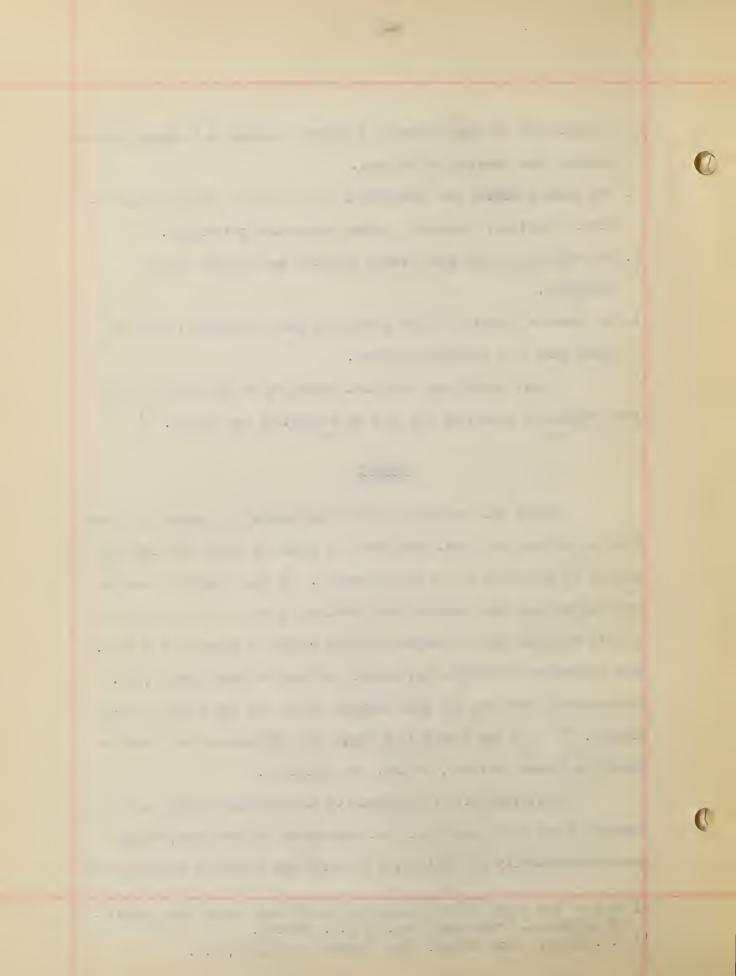
Other activities were also sponsored by the mill but had less bearing on education and more on recreation and health.

Summary

While this account of the Lowell mills may appear to wander from the subject of formal education, it does not stray far from the subject of education in its broad meaning. It was evidently such an established fact that schools were provided by the mills that accounts of mill villages seem to assume that the reader is aware of the fact. Thus references are often very casual as when in"Lucy Larcom", Mr. Dulany merely mentions the free Grammar School and the various night schools. ¹² In the same rather casual way references are found in regard to lyceum lectures, clubs, and societies.

Certainly life in a community as carefully ordered in all aspects as the early Lowell mill village seems to have been, would mean an opportunity for systematic training and a general education in

11 Vost of the facts in the section on Lowell were taken from Lowell -An Industrial Dream Come True, by H.C. Meserve.
12 ..D.Dulany, Lucy Larcom, Life, Letters and Diary, p.6.



the broad sense of the word.

The early mills supported day schools and night schools and in addition, provided lectures and other activities. That the education thus provided was of good quality would seem to be indicated by the character of the contributions in "The Lowell Offering".

As time went on, the mill schools often superior to those maintained by the towns, were turned over to the civic authorities. Then for a short time, the educational efforts of the mills lapsed, but later, due to the change in the character of operatives, a different type of service was rendered, and various classes were offered in order to help the foreign employees to become Americanized not only in legal status, but also in social standards.

Life in Lowell has been described more or less fully in order to set forth the contribution of the cotton mills both to formal instruction and the less formal education that likewise provides the knowledge necessary for a well-rounded life.

While Lowell probably was more ideal as a community than most mill towns, yet much that has been said about it was also true of the others, especially in regard to education.

A glance back at the activities of the spinning schools and at the educational facilities provided by the mill corporations in their villages, strengthens the conviction that the cotton manufacturing industry in the North has contributed much and continuing to contribute to the education of the people.

Chapter VII

THE INFLUENCE OF COTTON MANUFACTURING ON EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA



Chapter VII

The Influence of Cotton Manufacturing

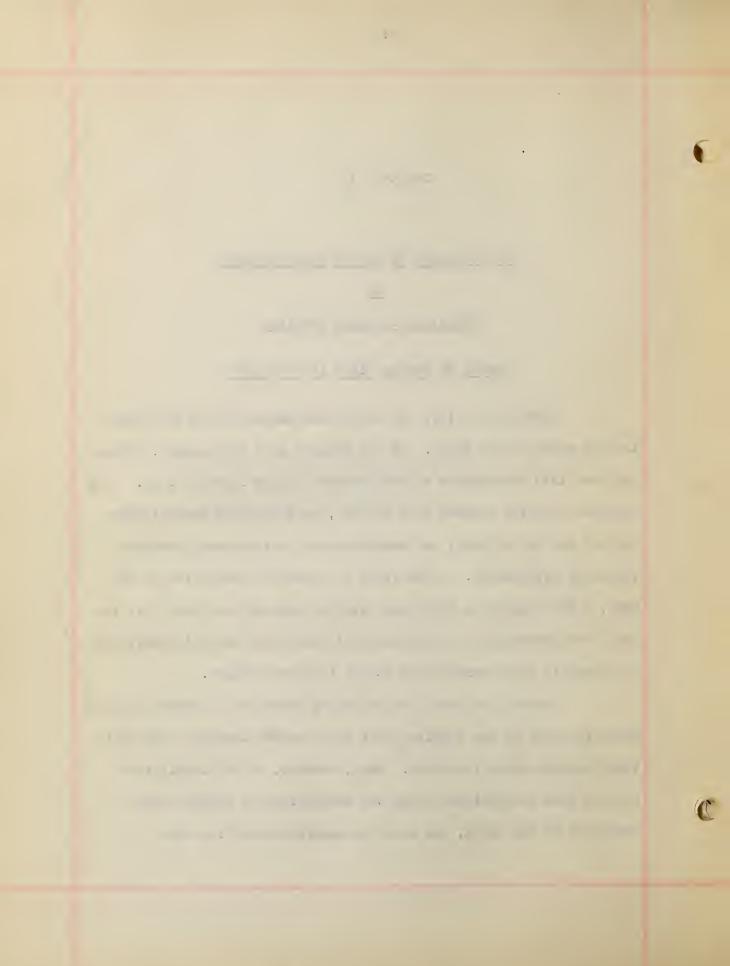
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Education in South Carolina

Growth of Cotton Mills in the South

Before the Civil War there were comparatively few cotton textile mills in the South. As was natural in a new country, cotton was made into clothing as a home industry during colonial days. Then supplies from the outside were cut off, as during the Revolutionary ar and the War of 1812, the manufacture of cotton goods received temporary stimulation. In addition to increased production in the home, a few centers or mills were started outside the homes, but the South was essentially an agriculatural region and natural conditions continued to favor agriculture rather than manufacture.

During the Civil War it became necessary to depend upon the South for some of the supplies that could not be imported, and again textile manufacture increased. Due,, however, to the inability to replace worn out equipment, and the destruction of plants during invasions of the enemy, the spurt in manufacturing died out.





School Building - Victor Plant Greer, S. C.



Employees' Homes and Executive Offices Monaghan Mills, Greenville, S. C.



Parker High School Greenville, S.C.



Only eleven of the eighteen mills in South Carolina survived the Civil War and these could do little because they were lacking in equipment and money to replace it.

The South could still grow cotton and, since the price was high, devoted its efforts to raising cotton as a means of recovery from destitution. For some years the price of cotton remained high and production increased. In 1872, however, the price began to decline because of over-production, and for many years the price of cotton was lower than it had ever been.

Under these conditions, some people began to realize that with steadily increasing production and a continued decline in the price of cotton, money if it were to bring profit, would have to be invested in something besides crops. A few textile mills, which had survived the ar, were prospering and a few new ones were being built, and also a large market for cneap cotton cloth was developing in the Orient. ¹ Therefore, more and more capital was invested in new cotton textile mills and the industry grew very rapidly, -- the number of mills in the South increased from 221 in 1880, to 545 in 1890.

Prevalence of the Mill Village

Along with the building of each mill went the construction of a mill village; in fact, the houses were usually built first in order to house the workmen, and then the mill was started. In the

1 B.F.Lemert, The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachian Piedmont, pp.31-32. 2 Ibid., p.35.

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South a mill site was chosen on a railroad if possible. Even though the site was at some distance from a village, in an open field or by a river, easy access to a railroad facilitated rapid building because the lumber and brick could so easily be transported to the location selected. J. J. Rhyne comments as follows:

> "On account of a peculiar set of circumstances the building of a cotton mill without construction of the mill village also was not regarded as a practicable policy. The result was the construction of a mill village along with every mill. In time the practice became sufficiently widespread to develop a traditional association between the cotton manufacturing industry in the South and the southern cotton mill village.

> "In spite of the traditional association, the mill village antedates in origin the development of southern cotton manufacturing. As a matter of fact, the practice was copied from New England when southern cotton manufacturing was in its infancy; and New England in its turn, had followed the practice of some of the best known early English mills. It became rooted in southern industrial soil as the easiest solution to the housing problem. The poverty-stricken condition of the people who went into the mills made it impossible for them to build their own homes. There was no local real estate capital or development available. The condition in which the poor white found himself thus helped to pave the way for the development of the southern cotton mill village and all the various forms of paternalistic practices that have since been adopted." 3

The Rural Mill Village

Although there is a mill village for practically every mill, there are really four distinct types of mill communities. These are known as the rural mill villages, the cotton mill town, the suburban

3 Jennings J. Rhyne, Some Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Their Villages, pp.20-21

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mill village, and the company town.

As was true in the case of northern mills, the early sites chosen for southern mills depended upon the availability of water power. Therefore, the villages were established along the streams, often out in the open country, but on a railroad if possible. If for any reason the mill village ceased to develop beyond the first step of constructing houses and mill, the village is called a rural mill village. There are some of these rural villages, comparatively isolated, to be found out in the open country. They have remained very much as when built except that buildings are not kept in repair and have become run down.

So, in this type of village, the roadways will be neglected, footpaths will serve as sidewalks, the thirty or forty houses will be badly in need of paint and repairs, water must still be carried from open wells, and if the village was not located near a railroad, to a large extent will be cut off from contact with others. Probably there will be a small frame building used as a community church. The school, located at a short distance from the village, will be attended by both mill and farm children and maintained by the county.

It is not surprising that in a village that is isolated and devoid of practically everything that raises the standard of living, the people are illiterate and shiftless. It is to villages of this kind that the families which move often usually tend to gravitate. Some move away, make the rounds, and come back again.

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Among the families that have a high rate of mobility are those whose members do not believe in education and deliberately move often enough so that the children are not listed in the school census. "One family has lived in thirty-two different places in a six-year period." ⁴ In the rural mill village are found many families unacceptable to the better type of mill village.

The rural mill village, then, is a desolate, isolated, rundown place still in the state of arrested development that overtook it soon after its establishment. It has no local government but is under the county supervision.

The Cotton Mill Town

Very different from the rural mill village, with its one mill, few houses, one store and one church, is the cotton mill town with several mills and mill villages and a business section in proportion to the size of the town. The town is incorporated and has its own board of aldermen, mayor and police force. The board of aldermen is elected and they select the mayor, the police force, and the town clerk, and other public officials.

In one cotton mill town seven mills were established within a thirty-year period. A large percentage of the people in the town are directly supported by the cotton mills and the rest of the population are indirectly supported through various activities and forms of business that exist because of the patronage of the cotton

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mill workers. In the particular mill town mentioned above,⁵ there were, in 1928, 522 white families of which 70.1 per cent were cotton mill workers. Of the 366 cotton mill families, 272 or 74.3 per cent were living in the 269 dwellings owned by the mill companies. Eightythree mill families, or 22.7 per cent, owned their own homes. The other eleven families were living in houses rented from sources independent of the companies.⁶

Throughout the southern cotton mills the actual processes of manufacturing are performed by white people. In most mills there are some colored laborers who do outside work, trucking, janitor service, and so forth. Therefore, in one part of the mill village or town is a section set apart for housing the negro workers.

In the town consisting of 522 families, previously mentioned, there were, in 1928,

"56 business establishments, including twenty-three grocery stores, three general merchandise stores, one bank, two moving picture theatres, four barber shops, five cafes, three meat markets, three pressing establishments, seven garages and filling stations, two hardware stores, one furniture store, and one shoe shop. The survey showed further, eight churches, two school buildings, three fraternal orders, one woman's club, one boy scout troop, one public park, and one swimming pool."

In this same town, as in most mill communities, the grocery and general stores extend credit to the mill workers who are usually

- 5 J.J. Rhyene refers to the towns as Town A, B, etc.
- 6 J.J. Rhyenę, Some Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Their Villages, p.48
- 7 Thid., p.46.

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a week behind in payment. Any fluctuation in work that affects the pay of the mill hands is immediately reffected in the stores of the community. "In other words, the economic well-being of the entire town is so intimately tied up with the cotton industry that economic ruin inevitably faces every form of business as soon as the cotton mill workers cannot pay their bills."

Suburban Mill Villages

The suburban mill village differs from the cotton mill town in that the former may be located in a town that is supported by a number of industries, whereas the cotton mill town has only one industry, -- the cotton mills. The suburban mill village is sometimes within the corporate limits of a town and sometimes outside.

Even though the mill village is within the limits of a town, it is usually very much like a separate community. There may be stores and other business establishments within the village as well as churches, lodges, and schools. In one village of this type the mill company not only owns the houses, but also a cafeteria and community house. The community house provides the center for community and social activities and company welfare work.

The Company Town

The company town differs from the cotton mill town in the form of local government. Nost mill towns are incorporated and re-

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Community Building - Winnsboro Mills Winnsboro, S. C.



Community Building and Gymnasium Dunean Mill - Greenville, S.C.



Community Building - Wallace Mfg. Co. Jonesville, S. C.



present several interests. On the other hand, most company towns are not incorporated and one company controls every phase of activity Since it is not incorporated, the usual company town is governed under county laws but the administration of government is in accordance with the ideas of the directors of the corporation that owns the town. The county officials elect two deputies for the police force, who are the only executive officers connected with the government of the village. Part of their salary is paid by the corporation. Since the corporation owns all the land and buildings it can exercise arbitrary authority over all activities in the town. In the matter of education, the schools are under the direction of the county superintendent of schools, but if the mill company built the school building and pays part of the salary of the local superintendent and teachers, it is in a position to exert considerable influence over policies of the school if it so chooses.

Geographic Distribution of Mills

The cotton textile mills of the South are located chiefly in the Southern Appalachian Piedmont. The Piedmont, which extends from Trenton, New Jersey to the central part of Alabama, tapers at each end but is rather wide where it crosses the western end of South Carolina. The cotton mills of the Piedmont are located in the area between Lynchburg, Virginia and Atlanta, Georgia.

Although the greatest development of the cotton textile

9 Ibid., pp.38-64, deal with types of mill communities in North Carolina but the facts also apply to South Carolina and have, therefore, been included in this paper.

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industry has been along the inner edge of the Piedmont, there have been occasional mills established along the Fall Line at the outer edge of the Piedmont. The industry has not spread further west because of the rough topography and inaccessibility of the region. Spreading toward the east is indirectly limited by distance, topography, climate and soil. The smoothness of the atlantic Coastal Plain in South Carolina offers plenty of level sites for mills but 10 they are far from coal. B. F. Lemert sums up the situation thus:

> "The streams, which tumble down out of the Blue Ridge rush through rocky gorges as they emerge from the Piedmont, move slowly over the Coastal Plain, for the topography is smooth and the gradient is slight. It requires power to run a mill, and the lack of coal for steam, or water-power for electricity, is a serious handicap. The climate is enervating, the growing season is long, the light sandy soils warm up quickly, take fertilizer well, and there is efficient transportation to the North, both by water and by rail. The textile mills keep away from the Coastal Plain because of lack of power and sluggishness of workers. The people of the Coastal Plain are engaged in producing cotton, corn and tobacco, and early fruits and vegetables. The Negro population is large. The soil is easily worked, produces well when sufficiently fertilized, and negro labor is cheap. The inhabitants along the coast are interested in fishing, shipping and resort trade." 11

In general the Southern Piedmont textile towns are near the Southern Railway System so that they have good railroad transportation. Also, many of them can employ automobile trucking over many smooth interstate highways.

Therefore, because of water power, coal supply, climate and transportation facilities, cotton textile mills in South Caro-

10 Ben F. Lemert, The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachian Piedmont, pp.3-4.
11 Ibid., p.4.

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lina, are generally located in the Piedmont section of the state.

The Labor Supply

Early Days

When the first small cotton textile mills were established in South Carolina, an adequate supply of local help was available in the district near the mill.

As mills grew during the 80's and 90's, the amount of local help was inadequate. The mills could depend upon the nearby farms to furnish some workers but only a small part of the necessary number. For much of the population was interested in farming, and because standards of living were low, a farmer could support his family on a small farm with a fair degree of certainty. Mill work was new and perhaps would prove less certain than farming, and then again, the early mill villages did not offer the attractive conditions found in those built at a later date.

Under these conditions, the mills looked to the foothills and mountains for a labor supply. There, living under very primitive conditions in isolated regions, were people of the purest Anglo-Saxon stock. Their life had accustomed them to extreme hardships and made of them a capable, resourceful and energetic people. These people, who were often barely existing in their isolated mountain homes, came in large numbers to the mills. In the course of a few years, thousands of fumilies moved down into the mill villages.

After some years, however, a satisfactory labor supply was again available nearer the mills. This came about because farming became more complex and less profitable. It had gradually become more arduous and called for more intelligence, more extensive and intensive cultivation, more fertilization and more expensive equipment. Since the average small farmer found it difficult to furnish all these things, he found it harder and harder to support his family.

Under these circumstances the farmer's sons and daughters very naturally left the farms for positions in the towns and in the mills. Then after a time as conditions on the farm became even worse, many farmers abandoned the farms and moved their families into the mill towns and went to work in the mills. Necessity drove the farmers to the mills but there they found that they had exchanged the back breaking and heart breaking labor on the farm for easier work at a definite and certain wage in the mill. In their mill homes were more conveniences and greater comforts than they had ever had on the farm, and the village furnished much more than they had known in the way of protection, schools, church and recreation.

World War and Later

With the World War came a stimulation of agriculture and an increase in land values. So, for a short time, the farm experienced extraordinary prosperity. At the same time, however, industry also expanded. Wills ran both day and night shifts, wages were

12 W.P.Jacobs, Problems of the Cotton Manufacturers in South Carolina, pp.22-23.

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increased and the villages were greatly enlarged.

When the war ceased, nations turned to agricultural production and an over-supply of farm products, added to other conditions, again brought the farmer to comparative poverty. As a result, farmers sought work in the cotton mills and mill villages greatly increased in size.

Except for two brief periods, then, the South Carolina cotton mills have not had to seek help. It has come first from nearby sources, then from the mountains and the farms as people sought to better their conditions. Seldom does a farmer return to agriculture after working in the mills. In many cases families have lived in the same village and worked for the same mill for thirty or forty years. ¹³

The mountaineers, on the other hand, often become homesick and return to the mountains but only to find that life is not the same. A mill owner in Gaffney, South Carolina, summed up the situation in the following words:

"Many of our people came from the mountains. They came down to the mills, and for six months or a year were terribly dissatisfied and finally resigned and went home. Back there, they never saw anyone, their kids could not go to school, had no one to play with and their wives had no one to talk to. The men folks had had the novel experience of hearing coins jungle in their own pockets and its hard to find even enough to eat back in those moun-

13 B.F.Lemert, The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachian Piedmont, p.25.

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tains. Almost without exception they write back 'For God's sake send us money to come back to the mill village.' The one trip back wears them away from the mountains and brings them into the mill life 14 for good."

In most mill villages today conditions are far superior to those prevailing on the farm or in the mountains. Even in the poorer type of village and in the earlier mill villages the farmer and mountaineer found living conditions far better than those to which he was accustomed.

Character of Labor Ancestry

Most of the cotton mill workers in South Carolina are descendents of the English, Irish or Scotch colonial settlers. There has been practically no foreign immigration into the state except for an experiment tried out in 1906. At that time there was a temporary shortage of labor so the manufacturers, in conjunction with commercial interests trying to revive the port of Charleston, brought four hundred and seventy-six operatives from Austria and Belgium Everyone was dissatisfied to the experiment proved a failure and the labor situation in the mills was relieved by a supply of workers from the mountains.¹⁵ "The operatives are white Americans, and the presence of a foreigner among them is rare, as may be expected in a state where the per cent of foreign born as shown by the United

15 M.A.Potwin, Cotton Mill People of the Piedmont, p. 31.

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States Census of 1920 is but .4 against 99.6 native born."

Farm Types

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The farmers who left the land for the mill varied in type from the ambitious, forward-looking family seeking better educational opportunities and higher standards of living to the neer-do-wells who manage to merely eke out an existence.

These down-and-outs, known as clay-eaters, crackers, or sand-lappers, were despised by both whites and blacks, Perhaps their ancestors were indentured white servants of colonial times, or perhaps they were merely the victims of an agricultural system that forced them into degeneration when it utilized negro labor. This class would have been in almshouses, had there been any, but lacking this refuge, they wandered from one mill village to another, calling themselves mill folks and stigmatizing mill work and workers. This group has been largely absorbed in late years through the establishment of institutions and social agencies.

In addition to the ambitious and the neer-do-wells, the farms furnished two other classes, the simple, comfortable type of person; and the group that entered the mills to escape competition with the Negro in the fields.

This last group is the greatest problem in educational matters. They are anti-social and think in negative terms. They are on one side in religion, politics and so forth for no positive

16 Ibid., p.147.

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reason, but simply because they would not be on the other side.

Mountain Type

The mountaineer came from an isolated region where there had been no opportunity for education and no knowledge of hygiene and sanitation. His life had been lived in crude simplicity which resulted not only in illiteracy and an utter lack of social ideas, but also in independence, individualism, and self-reliance. In this connection Miss Potwin quotes from the Southern Highlander and His Homeland by John C. Campbell:

> "Centuries old is the purity of their Anglo-Saxon blood, while 'by common interests, hardships and struggles they have blended into a homogeneous people -- the type which has come to be called American. The pioneer is still to be recognized in many of his descendants -- tall, lean, clear-eyed, self-reliant, never taken by surprise, and of great endurance.' His dominant characteristic is independence. His motives are entirely individualistic. 'His habit has been to do what he wants, when he wants and only so long as he wants. Time is of no importance; tomorrow will do as well as today. Discipline is exceedingly hard for him to endure, and he is moreover, a great lover of home, and very apt to be homesick when long out of the mountains." 17

Negro Labor

Although the mills employ a certain amount of negro labor, they are not used as operatives in the usual sense of the word. Their work is confined to sweeping, scrubbing, firing, hauling, ditching, and similar work.

17 Ibid., p.54.

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Summary

The cotton textile mill operatives of South Carolina are almost without exception native white Americans whose ancestors, English, Irish, or Scotch were among the early wettlers.

> "As a matter of actual fact, there is virtually no difference between the general character of the executives of the average cotton mill of South Carolina and its operatives. They are for the most part one and same, of the same stock needs, and with the same tastes, speaking the same tongue, worshipping the same God."

Cotton Mill Owners

It has already been noted that for many years following 1872 the price of cotton remained extremely low and production steadily increased. Therefore, men looked around for a more profitable investment than cotton crops, and decided on cotton manufacturing. From 1880, dates the cotton-mill movement in the South.

Some of the leaders in the movement in South Carolina were Mr. D. A. Tompkins, Mr. D. E. Converse, Captain Ellison A. Smyth, Colonel J. P. Hammett, and Captain J. H. Montgomery. These men as well as most of the other mill owners in the South, were entirely without experience in the cotton textile industry. Their object in establishing cotton mills apparently was not just a financial investment, but also a genuine interest in improving the impoverished condition of the region and the destitution of the

18 W.P.Jacobs, Problems of the Cotton Manufacturer in South Carolina, p.36.

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people.

Newspapers as well as individuals were active in promoting the new mills in order to bring the state out of its poverty stricken condition. Thus, many mills were built as a result of community interest and group enterprise.

In most cases the mill executives lived in the mill villages and took a sincere interest in the growth of the village and the welfare of the operatives. As all studies of the South point out, the mill owners and executives were of the same blood, heritage and interests as the operatives, and a genuinely friendly spirit existed between them. As !r. Lemert artlessly expresses it, "The Southern textile worker still enjoys the friendship of his employer and attends the same church, where he learns to take his complaints to God instead of to those responsible for his ills."

Paternalism

Nuch has been written about the paternalism of the southern cotton mill village, some in defense of the system and some in criticism of it. The facts seem to show that it was a natural growth that could have been prevented only with great difficulty.

Common to the South was the plantation system that had grown up around the production of tobacco, rice, indigo, and cotton. Plantation owners were responsible for the lives, work and welfare of those living on the plantations. They were in a sense over-lords with

19 B.F.Lemert, The Cotton Textile Industry of the Southern Appalachian Fiedmont, p.64.

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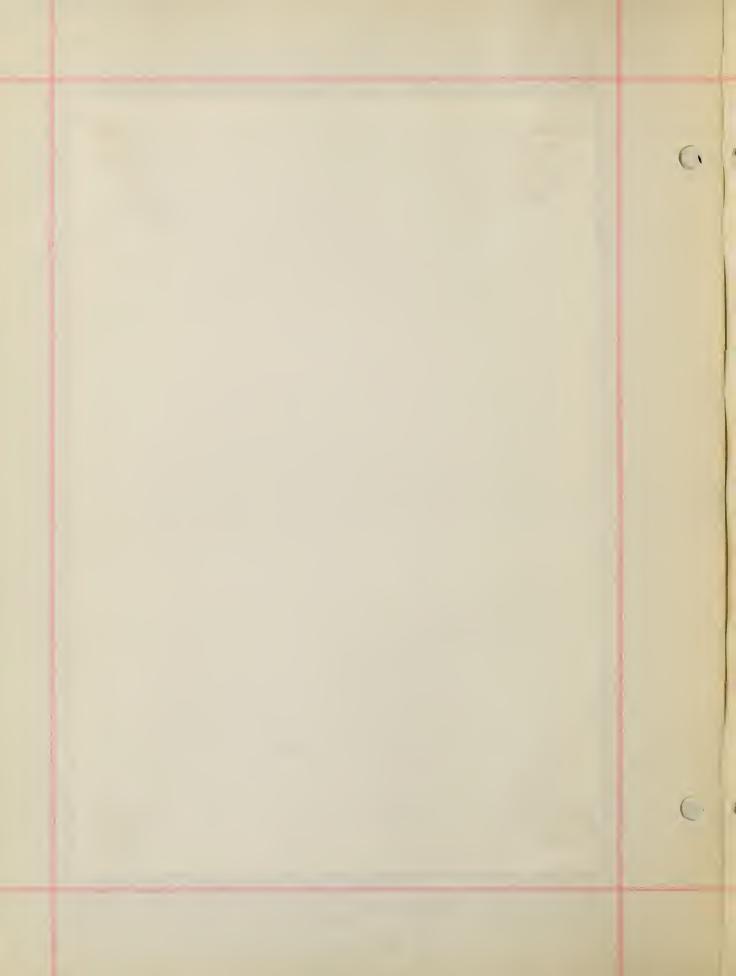
Operatives' Homes - Judson Mills Greenville, S.C.



The Girls' Club - Pacolet Mfg. Co. Pacolet, S.C.



Operatives' Homes - Joanna Mills Goldville, S. C.



considerable power. hen cotton mills were established by some of these men, it was possible to transfer much of the executive ability that had managed large estates to the management of the mills even though cotton mill experience was lacking.

Also, it was natural that the owner's customary interest in all activities and workers concerned, should be transferred from the plantation to the mill village. Moreover, the operatives saw nothing strange in the idea. The executives were friends who were interested in all phases of their lives.

Paternalism as exemplified in a mill village was practically necessary when it is considered that villages were established in isolated spots that necessitated the building of houses, stores, churches, schools, roads and so forth. The operatives fresh from farms and mountain homes had no capital to build their own houses and too low a standard of hygiene and sanitation to have been entrusted with the construction of a village had they owned the necessary capital.

The expense of the mill village has been a drain on the mills that none but philanthropically minded men would have maintained. The mill owners would be far wealthier today if they had spent less for the well-being of their operatives.

A necessity in the beginning, paternalism is doubtless only a stage in industrial development. As more formal relationship gradually develops between employer and employee, as the state takes fuller

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responsibility for the schools, as more executives live in the towns instead of mill villages, and as operatives become more able to provide for themselves the social, educational and health measures now furnished by the mills, paternalism will probably gradually die out in the mill villages.

A Southern Mill Village

In considering the cotton textile industry in the North, the growth of Lowell was used as an example of a mill village. To make the southern situation more concrete, the growth of the Saxon Mills, as described by Miss Potwin in Cotton Mill People of the Piedmont, will be used to illustrate many points already made. But, whereas Lowell was rather an ideal community, the Saxon Mills are typical of South Carolina mills.

In the heart of the manufacturing district, it is neither urban nor remotely rural. Of average size, of medium age, it is neither the most nor the least successful financilly. Its social policies are progressive, yet tempered with conservation. Saxon has often been used as a sample by the United States Department of Labor, by the United States Children's Bureau, by the United States Pellogra 21

Community Effort

On December 9, 1899, the "Spartanburg Herald" carried this

20 M.A.Potwin, Cotton Mill People of the Piedmont, pp.35-47, 114-123. 21 Ibid.,p.19.

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this front-page article.

"ANOTH_R NEW MILL

Mr. Jno. A. Law, of the Savings Bank, is at the head of the Interprise.

Two Hundred Thousand Dollars Capital.

Owing to the prompt and decisive action of a few of spartanburg's most prominent business men, and a ready response on the part of others, a new cotton mill of about 10,000 spindles is almost assured to "Greater Spartanburg."

It is unnecessary to say that such an enterprise will be welcomed. The people here know by practical experience the accompanying benefits, the value of mill stocks as investments, and the advantage offered by this locality to such organizations.

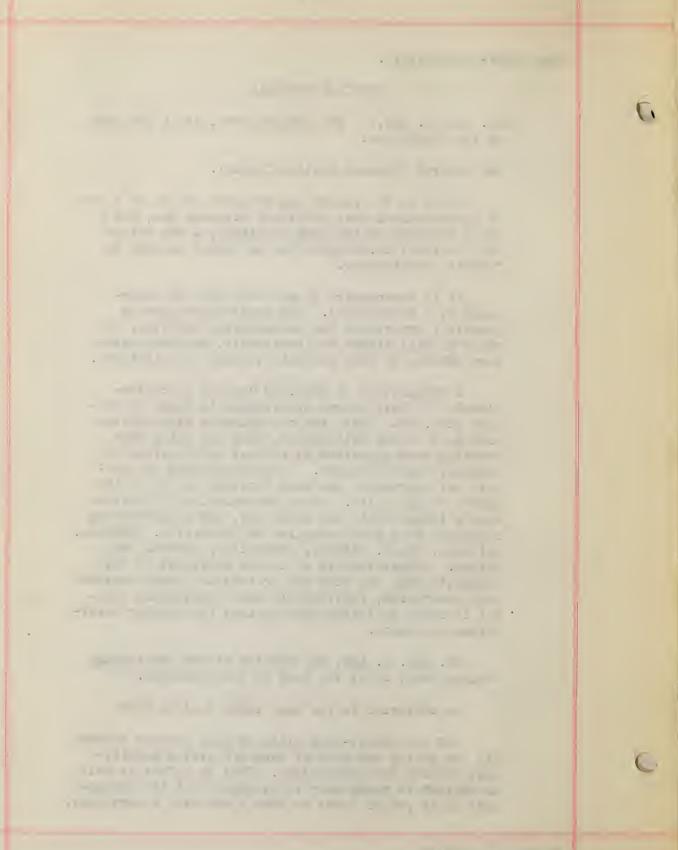
A Corporation of \$200,000 capital is contemplated. Of this amount Spartanburg is asked to furnish \$100,000. While she has gained a wide reputation as a cotton mill center, many new mills have recently been organized at various other points in Piedmont South Carolina. If Spartanburg's to maintain her supremacy, she must continue to add to the number of her mills. Since the building of Spartanburg's latest mill, the Arkwright, new manufacturing companies have been organized in Greenville, Anderson, Columbia, Union, Gaffney, Jonesville, Pickens and Bolton. Unquestionably it is the sentiment of this community that the time has arrived to launch another mill enterprise, particularly when Spartanburg capital is being solicited and obtained for similar enterprises elsewhere.

Mr. Jno. A. Law, the cashier of the Spartanburg Savings Bank, is at the head of this movement."

An editorial in the same issue said in part:

"Of the twenty-four mills in this country already all are paying and most of them are giving magnificent returns to stockholders. This is a fact so well known that it needs only to be shown that the management is in proper hands to make a new mill a certainty.

22 Ibid., pp.35-36.



Mr. Jno. A. Law, who is at the head of this enterprise, is one of the sort of young men the people of Spartanburg have always delighted to entrust with big enterprises. He has the confidence, the esteem and the best wishes of everybody, and the business community realizes, from twelve years of experience in the banks, that he has the stuff in him to make one of the most successful mill men of this particularly successful community."²³

The Site

After banking hours, Mr. Law rode about the country seeking a site for the new mill (In 1899 the only means of traveling in the Piedmont was by horseback) It was decided to locate the mill a mile and a half beyond the city limits of Spartanburg at a spot where a stream and the railroad were adjacent. Here, on the crest of one hundred and eighty acres of a partly wooded rolling tract, the village of Saxon was built.

The Mill and the Houses

From the first, the village was thought of as a community of homes, and not a mere housing enterprise. As the building began an observer said to Mr. Law, "In the development of your enterprise I envy you the opportunities you will have to stamp your personality upon the community you are building." Later Mr. Law said, "The idea of stamping my personality upon an unsuspecting community had never 24 occurred to me before,"......"and I went home sick at the thought."

As soon as the building of the mill was started, village

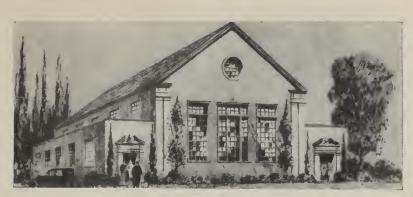
23 Ibid., p.36 24 Ibid., p.38.

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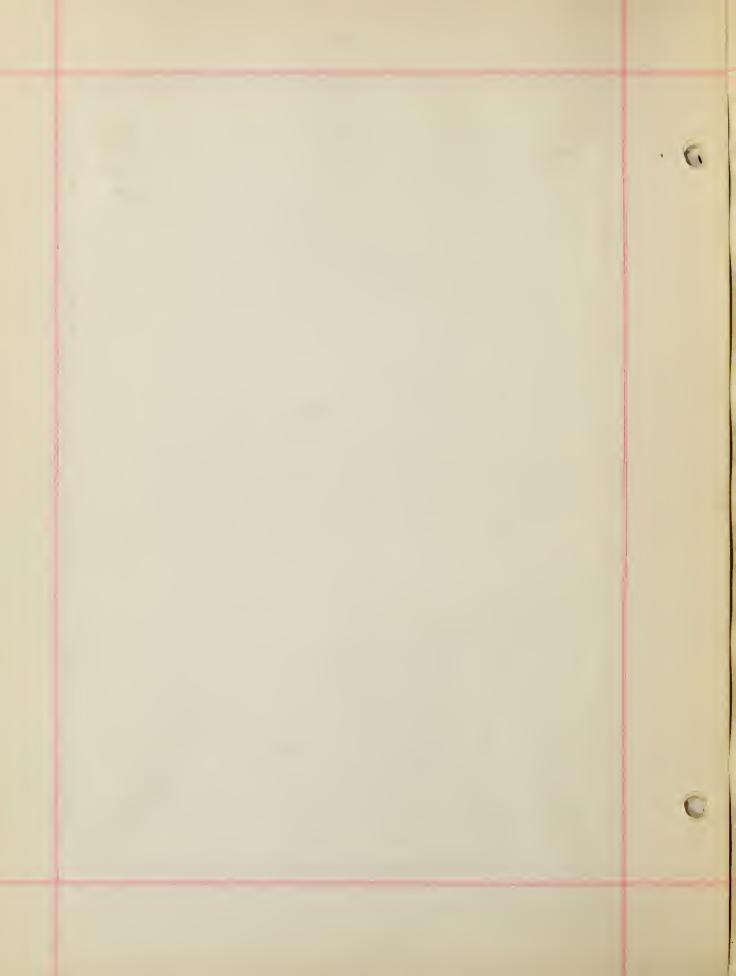
Mill Gymnasium Taylors, S. C.



Community Building - Summer Camp Victor Monaghan Co.



Wm. Cyrus Bailey Memorial Church Clinton, S. C.



streets were laid off, trees were set out or conserved, hedges planted and allowance made for garden plots. Attempts were made to provide similarity but to avoid monotony.

With this in view, four different types of houses were built. As soon as a house was finished a family would move in, and the men and boys would help the masons or carpenters. Within a few weeks forty houses had been completed.

The Store and Churches

After several families had moved into the village, it was necessary to have a store to furnish their supplies. The Board of Directors debated the matter of a store. One member felt that a company store was more bother than it was worth, and he did not want to be accused of taking away the people's wages. Nevertheless, the store was built and operated by the company. It has a public telephone, an agency for the city laundry, a post office substation and is a general center of convenience.

Even before all the houses were full, or the mill in actual operation, the people requested a place for religious meetings. So the partitions were knocked down in a six-room house for a temporary church. The president of the mill appointed a joint committee from all denominations in the village, to take charge of the religious meetings.

fter a time the Baptists and the Methodists each built a

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church on land furnished by the mill and with the aid of the president who personally donated one-tenth of whatever sum the committee raised for the building of the church. The mill provided parsonage free from rent for each church.

Birth and Death

Although the textile industry is not a hazardous one, requiring constant surgical attention to the workers, yet the birth of a baby and the death of an old man soon brought realization of the need of a physician nearer than the city. So a doctor became part of the community, although he never had any official connection with the company.

When the old man died, in answer to the request of the family to bury their dean "on the place," the company set aside the little cemetery at Saxon.

Community Pastures

As families moved in from the country with their hogs and chickens, land was set aside for community pastures at each of the four corners of the village. So unused are newcomers to the sanitary standards of the village, that even now it takes threat of dismissal from the village to persuade them to keep their live stock in the community pastures instead of tied under the porch.

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Schools

By 1902 there were seventy-two families at the Saxon Mills. Seventeen families, including four the management, desired a school for their children. A teacher was engaged and tuition fixed at twenty-five cents per pupil per week. Although six of the seventeen families failed to pay the tuition fees, the school was conducted for four months which a length of term quite usual in the state at that time.

> "This private school was a necessity because the rural school district in which the mill found itself located was too poor and too inadequately equipped to take care of the increased population occasioned by the erection of the mill. Moreover then, as now, the standards of the county schools fell short of the standards of the mill. The county school was in a miserable one-room building with home-mode desks, no blackboards, and was ungraded in classes or ages of pupils.

> "The next step was affiliation between the private schools in the mill village and the public county school, the mill proposing to erect a modern building in the village, to take care of all the children in the district, to lengthen the term of the school, to increase the number of teachers and to supplement their salaries; all to be done under supervision of the state school authorities. Costs above the public aid received by the district were to be borne by the mill. The proposition was accepted and the archaic educational provisions were absorbed in the beginnings of a modern system." 25

When in 1907, the Saxon Mills replaced the first small school house with Caston Hall, the expense was so much greater than

was usually spent for educational facilities that considerable widespread comment of varying nature was made.

School Attendance

At this time there were one hundred and fifty children under twelve years of age at Saxon and one hundred and thirty-two were enrolled in school. The average attendance was only sixty-five but this was no lower than the average attendance all over the state. South Carolina has always had a small average school attendance, and poor enforcement of compulsory attendance laws, even since the state law was passed in 1921.

In addition to the general indifference, some families in mill villages are apt to reason that if a child is going into the mill anyway what difference do a few days or a year or two of schooling make.

The general indifference of the people toward education probably goes back to the early colonial attitude which was an offshoot of the nglish aristocractic idea of education. After generations had grown up with the idea that public education was only for the paupers the notion was very firmly embedded in the mores of the people. It has been noted that public schools were not provided for until 1868 and that they were to be open to all children without regard to race. This latter provision held back the school system for

many more years because no white children in South Carolina would attend school with the black children.

In 1876 the state began to pull itself together, but the Department of Education, with a deficit of *500,000, was slow in recovering. Naturally the life of one generation has been too short a time to materially alter the attitude of the common people toward regular school attendance.

School Term

In progressive communities, mill owners supplemented legislative appropriations and gave more educational opportunities for the children in their villages than in the state in general. The mills in the Piedmont adopted the standards of the city schools instead of the state requirements for county schools. Evidently this situation led to the passage of the Equalization Bill of 1924, known as the 6-0-1 Act. This provided that the state should finance a term of six months, the county no months, and the local district one month. A minimum scale of teachers' salaries was adopted.

As the school law provided that any school district may have a longer term by entirely financing the schools for the extra time, the cotton mills, almost without exception, pay for an additional two months' term. Since the school districts and the cotton mill villages are usually coterminus, it follows that the mills assume the cost of the lengthened school term. Saxon Yills, as well as the

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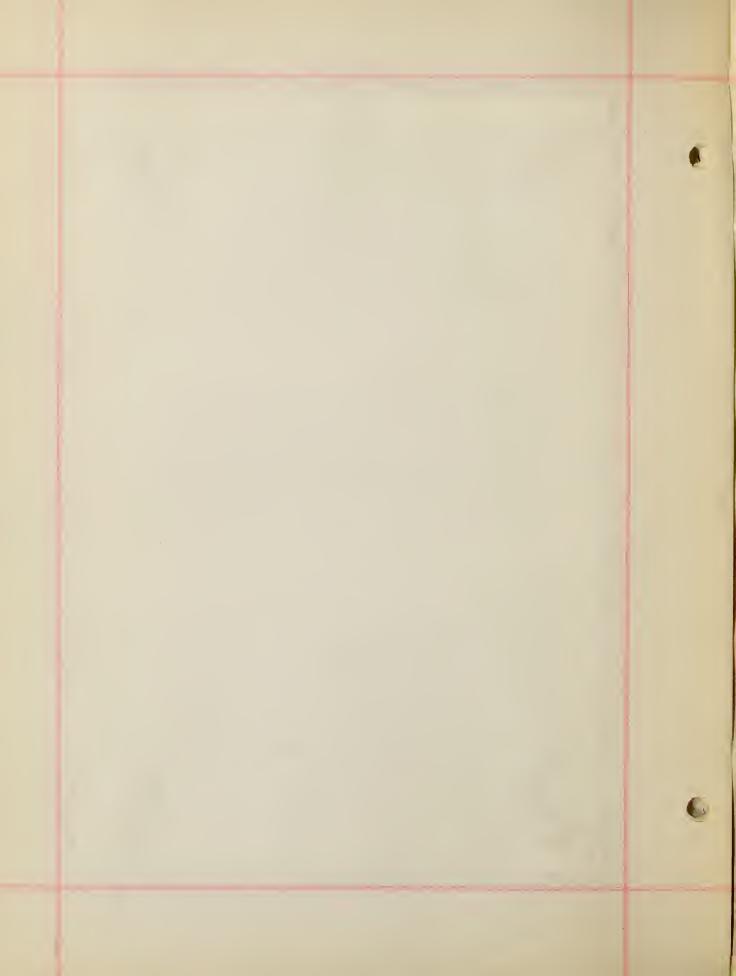
New Year's Party in Gymnasium Pacolet Mfg. Co., Pacolet, S.C.



Gymnasium - Union Bleachery Greenville, S.C.



Pyramid Building Pacolet Mfg.Co., Pacolet, S.C.



other seven mills in Spartanburg and the fifteen mills in Greenville, are among the mills that provide for the nine months term. Indeed, practically all cotton mill villages in South Carolina enjoy the same 26 privilege.

In addition to the expense for the longer school term, many mills also bear the cost of school music, physical education, and 27 extra-curriculum activities not provided for by public fund.

Before the depression Pacolet and Saxon Mills in Spartanburg and Chesnee Mills in Chesnee, were among the mills that operated summer schools. For the present this activity has been discontinued 28 by these mills.

When the mills were first opened, many of those most interested in the welfare of the operatives made the stipulation that only those parents would be retained as employees whose children attended the village school. As time has gone on it has become a matter of common knowledge among the mill people that unless they send their children to school they will be classed as "undesirable families" and will find it difficult to retain residence in the "good villages". So the higher type family conforms and the others drift to the socially backward mills. Thus a process of selection that was once motivated by the mill owners has become practically a process of natural selection.

The enrollment at the Saxon Mills school was three hundred and twenty-five in 1925. This included all children in the village

27 Ibid. 28 Ibid.

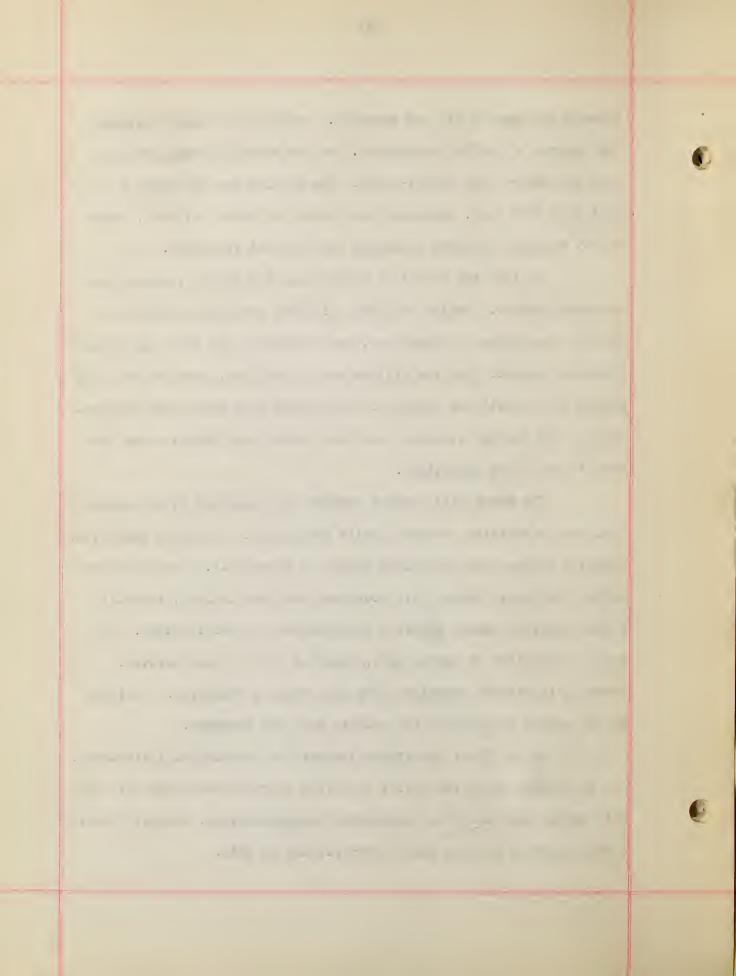
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between the ages of six and fourteen. Only nine of these children had records of perfect attendance, and the average attendance was only two hundred and twenty-seven. The figures for the state for that year show that, including both black and white children, about thirty thousand children of school age were not in school.

In 1927 the school at Saxon Mills had eleven teachers for the seven grades. Twelve children, six from executives' families and six from those of operatives, were attending the city high school. Fourteen students from the village were in college, nine of those had worked in the mill for a year or two between high school and college. Four of the college students were from executives' families and ten from those of the operatives.

The Saxon Mills school adopted the amplified state curriculum, and in addition, teaches public school music, physical education, domestic science and the Palmer Method of penmanship. For six years before the County Health Unit took over the work in 1927, the mill school required annual physical examinations and vaccinations. An annual exhibition of school work, together with a play fesitval, serve to illustrate organized play and physical education. Children in the sewing classes and the mothers make the costumes.

In an effort to attract teachers of superior qualifications, and to further apply its policy of having everyone connected with the mill assume some definite neighborhood responsibility, the mill built a Teacherage as a model home in the village in 1919.



Night school has been undertaken several times but success has been varied. As the day school becomes more efficient, the demand for night school decreases.

Adult illiteracy has been greatly lessened through the Textile Industrial Institute which is run under the auspices of the Methodist Church and in connection with the Saxon Mills. The students work in shifts, alternating one week in the mill with a week in the school room.

Vocational classes under the state and federal aid have not given as satisfactory results as have been claimed for them at some other mills.

Saxon Mills, in addition to paying a heavy school tax to the state, furnishing the school and teacherage and all the current expenses of the school year, pays the salaries of the teachers for three months, while the state pays for six.

Other Facilities

When a barber shop was opened to meet the popular demand, it was rented to an independent person. However, after twenty years of trouble between the patrons who wanted high-class conduct and those who insisted upon convivial hospitality, some of the younger men requested the mill authorities to take the barber shop into custody and locate it in the community building Thus, at the request of the people, the barber shop was housed in the same building with

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the school rooms, uditorium, club quarters and other facilities for the social life of the community.

Saxon Mills became a voting precinct almost as soon as the mill was built. In 1904, which is the earliest available record, eighty-eight votes were cast by a male population of one hundred and fifty.

So this typical cotton-mill village grew up around the 10,000 spindle print cloth mill of red brick, four stories high, set on the crest of a hill. When the first piece of goods came from the looms in 1901, around the mill was clustered a miniature village of fifty-three houses, the office, the store, two churches, a school house, a barber shop and the village pastures.

The houses were built according to five styles, with wooden frame, clap-boarded and painted gray and white. Each had a front and back porch. Five houses with six rooms each were for overseers, forty with four rooms each were for operatives, six two-story houses with six rooms were also for operatives, and two with six rooms were for the executives. Since there was no plumbling nor running water, wells were placed equi-distant in the blocks. According to the prevailing standards, lighting was by kerosene lamps, and heating by burning wood in fireplaces.

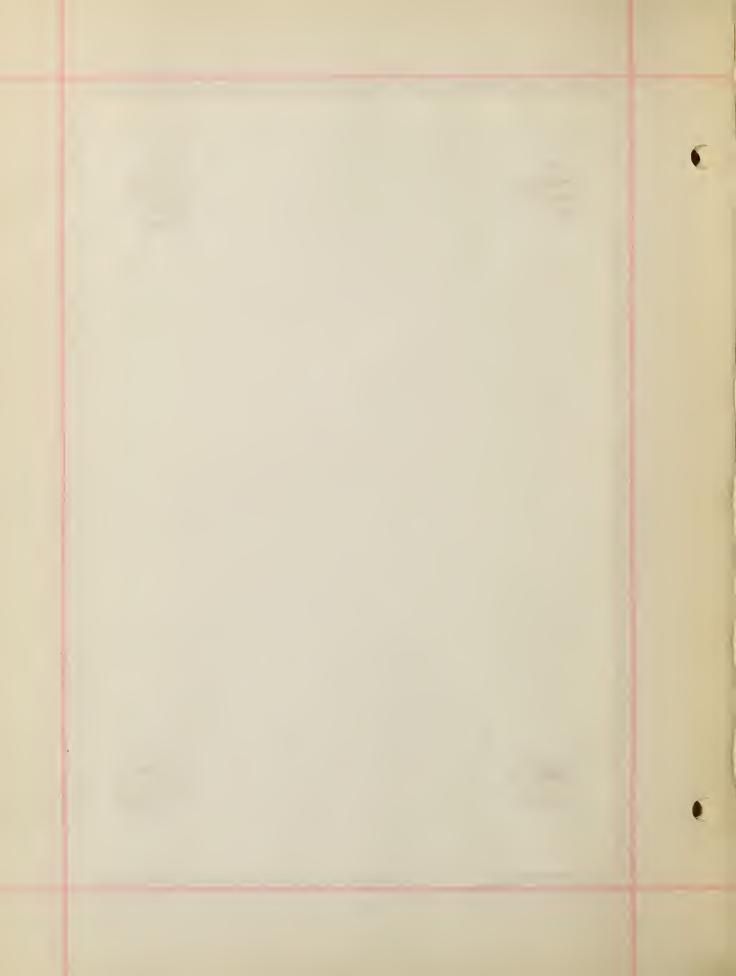
Each house was placed on a lot ninety feet by one hundred and ten feet. Flowers were often raised in the front yard and gardens planted in the back yards.



View in Park - Darlington Mfg. Co. Darlington, S.C.



Night School - Clifton Mfg.Co. Clifton, S.C.



On the edge of the mill property, a little way from the village, were five houses built for the negro day laborers.

Nodern Conditions

Enlargement and development have been continuous, until in 1927, the size of the mill was 41,000 spindles and the number of houses one hundred and sixty-eight. Twenty-three of the houses, built in 1924, are up to date bungalows, and, in 1927, fifty more were in the process of construction.

The houses are now heated by coal, lighted by electricity, have running water in the kitchen, and are connected with a sewerage system. All houses have bathrooms in which toilets have been installed, sixty have bath tubs and space for tubs has been left in the others. Sleeping porches have been added to several houses, and several garages have been built on every street. No house is more than five minutes' walk from the mill.

In the village, improvements include street lights, streetcar service to town, taxis, a community educational and social center and playground, the transformation of a mill pond into a lake for swimming and recreational purposes, and the beginning of a park system. In the village is a station of the Piedmont and Northern Railway and within three minutes walk from the village is the suburban depot of the Southern Railroad.

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Also closely linked with the village life, is the vacation camp of the Saxon Mills, which is located on Lake Summit forty miles away in the Blue Ridge Fountains.

<u>Influence of Cotton Mills</u> <u>On Education</u> Indirect Education

As, in the chapter on the influence of cotton manufacturing on education in New Ingland, it seemed wise to give a detailed account, so in the discussion of the influence of cotton manufacturing on education in South Carolina, it has seemed advisable to consider the industry, the villages, the character of the people and the employers, as well as the schools. For, a picture of the whole situation is necessary before the subject can be viewed with understanding. Indeed, a rather complete knowledge of all phases of the subject is necessary before an interpretation can be made in regard to educational influence.

A presentation of the facts regarding the cotton industry and schools would be comparatively simple, -- but schools are only part of education. Therefore, details have been given in order that the reader may gain an insight into the indirect and more or less intangible education which the cotton textile mills furnish for the people of the mill villages. Even so, no attempt has been made to go into particulars concerning welfare work.



Day Nursery - Pacolet Mfg. Co. Pacolet, S. C.



Nutritional Station - Spartan Mill Spartanburg, S.C.



Pacolet, S. C.



Health improvement, athletics, day nurseries, club activities, Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Home Guards, bands, and playgrounds might be mentioned as among the typical forms of social welfare to be found in mill villages.

Continuation Schools

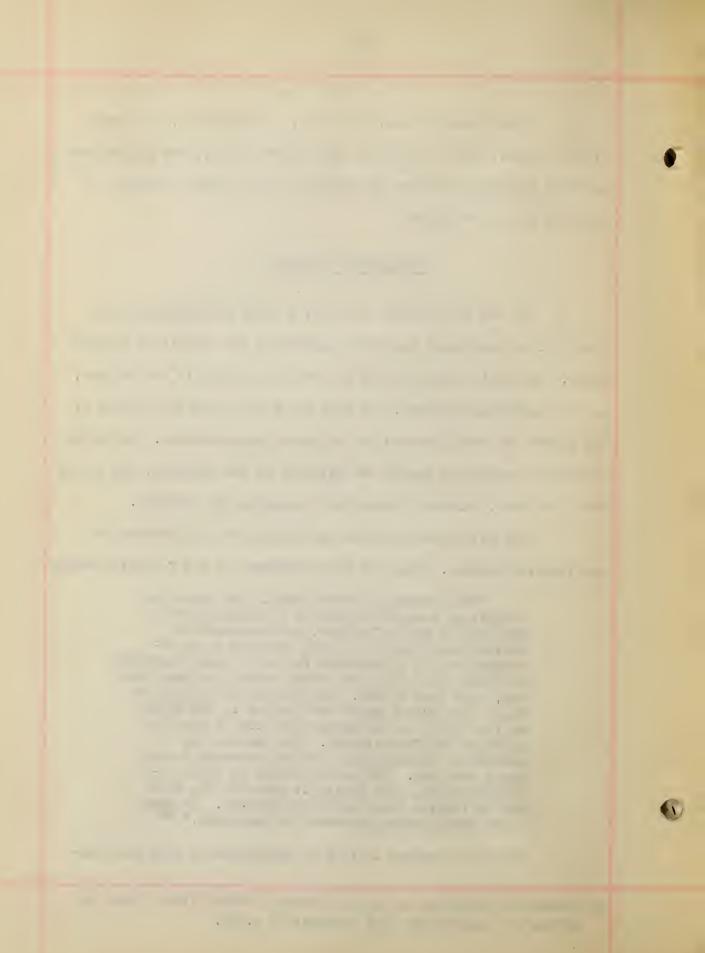
It has been brought out that a large percentage of the cotton mills supplement the state provisions for schools by various means. The mills often furnish the school building in the village, pay the operating expenses, and keep the school open for a month or two beyond the term provided for by state appropriations. The mills frequently contribute toward the salaries of the teachers, and in one case, at least, furnish a house and its unkeep for teachers.

The mills also do their part toward the maintenance of continuation schools. This has been expressed in the following words:

"The success of these schools has been due largely to a wonderful spirit of cooperation on the part of mill officials, and overseers of various departments. A work schedule is so arranged that it is possible for these young employees to leave their jobs and attend school one hour each day, five days a week, for nine months during the year. The school rooms are located in the plants so that there is no appreciable loss of time in going to and from classes. The schools are usually in session from five and one-half to six hours each day. Pupils are taught in small ungraded groups, thus making it possible for each one to receive individual instructions. In many cases unbelievable progress has been made."

While this report is true of conditions in many mill com-

29 Industrial Education in South Carolina, 1933 or 1934, (date not given, but reports for 1932 presented), p.115.



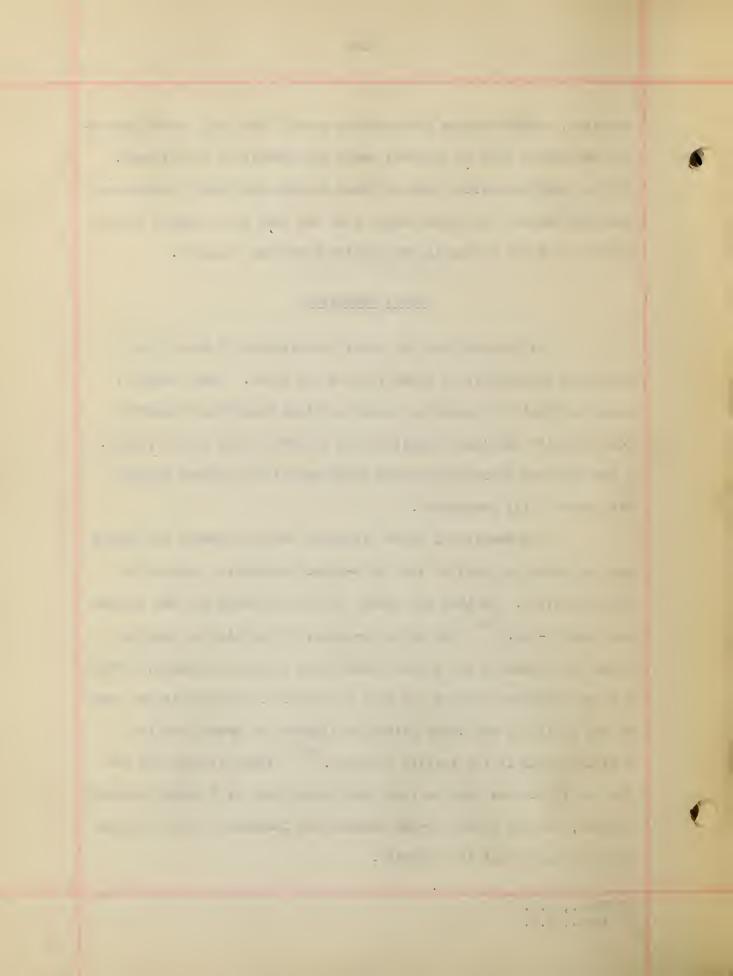
munities, in some others continuation schools have not proved succesful because of lack of interest among the members of the classes. In the large industrial centers these schools are usually successful, probably because the young people feel the need of earning a living earlier than the youths in the smaller towns and villages.

Adult Education

Mills often furnish night schools most of which give adults an opportunity to learn to read and write. Some, however, teach arithmetic by means of simple problems correlated whenever possible with problems connected with the daily work of the pupils. A few advanced classes sometimes study practical problems dealing with cotton mill management.

The vocational trade extension evening classes for adults make up the major part of the Smith-Hughes industrial program in South Carolina. In 1932 the number of these classes was one hundred and seventy-two. ³⁰ The mills co-operate by opening up whatever rooms are necessary for a first hand study of mill processes, indeed a large number of classes are held in the mills and seventy per cent of the pupils in the trade extension classes are drawn from the various fields in the textile industry. ³¹ These classes are not for the illiterate such as those who attend many mill school evening classes, but for those already knowing the fundamentals and wishing to learn more about the industry.

30 Ibid., p.8. 31 Ibid., p.8.

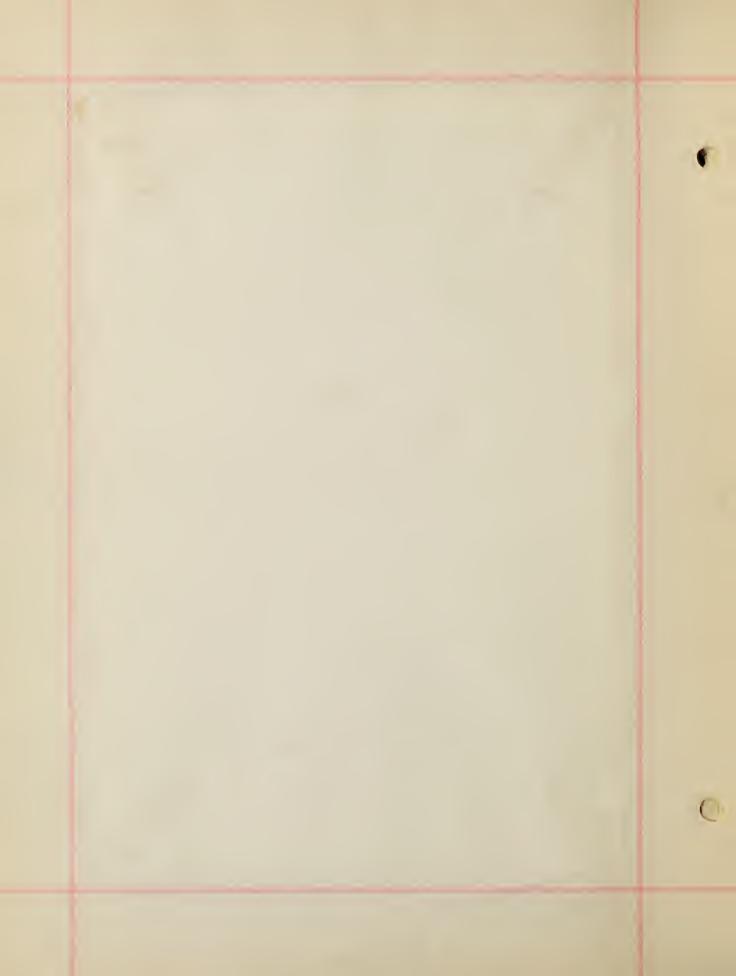




Swimming Pool - Pacolet Mfg.Co. Pacolet, S.C.



Young Married Club - Spartan Mill Spartanburg, S.C.



Classes in cooking and sewing are carried on by many mills for the working girls and married women.

Standards of Mill Schools

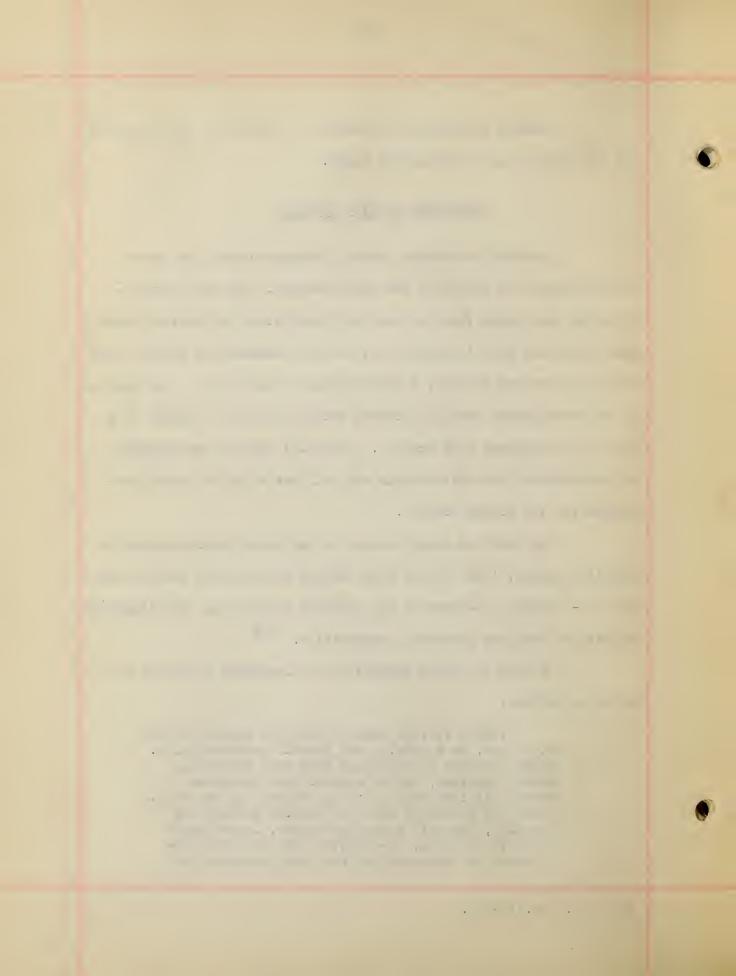
Although references to mill village schools and their partial support by the mills are rather casual, much as though obvious and well known facts do not need repetition, yet certain passages were found that indicate that the mill schools are equal to and usually in advance of other county schools in the state. This applies to the seven grades usually provided because the mill villages as a rule, do not support high schools. The mill schools have adopted the standards of the city schools and not that which the state prescribes for the county schools.

"In 1925 the annual report of the State Superintendent of Education stated, 'Some of our best schools now are mill school buildings' --- 'Almost one-fifth of the children enrolled in the elementary schools are from the industrial communities.'" ³²

In 1926 the State Supervisor of Elementary Education re-

"I have visited most of the mill schools of the State and, as a rule, found them in good condition. Quite a number of buildings have been erected in textile centers, and in a great many instances these buildings were paid for entirely by the mill. There the buildings were not erected entirely by the mill, the mill authorities have, in the great majority of cases, co-operated with the State Department of Education and the local trustees not

32 Ibid., pp.117-118.



only in the erection of suitable school buildings but also in the education of the children in general.

"Some of the mill authorities will not allow a family to reside in the community if the children of school age are not sent to school.....

"I am glad to report that a number of Nill communities have voted compulsory attendance for nine months, as local districts have the right to do under the present school law."

Mr. W. P. Jacobs, who writes from first hand knowledge says

in part:

"He", (the cotton manufacturer) "has always extended the greatest co-operation to educational authorities, and as a result some of the finest school systems in the state are to be found among the cotton mill villages. Perhaps the most complete educational units are to be found there.

"Certainly the educational systems with the finest spirit are located in mill communities. For instance, the Parker School District, attended largely by mill children, adjoining the city of Greenville, (a great portion of the burden of which is carried directly by the mills), is a model not only for the state, but for other states as well. This unit is doing a remarkable bit of work. The educational system is complete; the spirit is excellent, and the effect of the educational service in the Parker School District upon the families in the adjoining mill villages is most wholesome and uplifting. Their system involving the regular courses of instruction for all, from the youngest to the oldest members of the community, and in the graded and high school years offers additional science, music, textiles and agriculture. The system is so complex as to involve practically every necessary type of training. Other mill school units in the state have similar records.

33 Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education of South Carolina, 1926, p.22.





Teacher and Night Class in Weaving Clifton Mfg. Co. - Clifton, S.C.



View of Darlington Mfg. Co. Darlington, S.C.



Mill and Athletic Field Pacolet Mfg. Co. - Pacolet, S.C.



"The spirit of co-operation exemplified in cotton mill villages in the matter of education is well described in the 1928 report of the State Department of the Superintendent of Education of South Carolina, in which in the discussion of adult education the superintendent reports:

'The work in mill villages is much easier than in rural districts, because of the superior educational advantages and of the generous support given by mill executives.

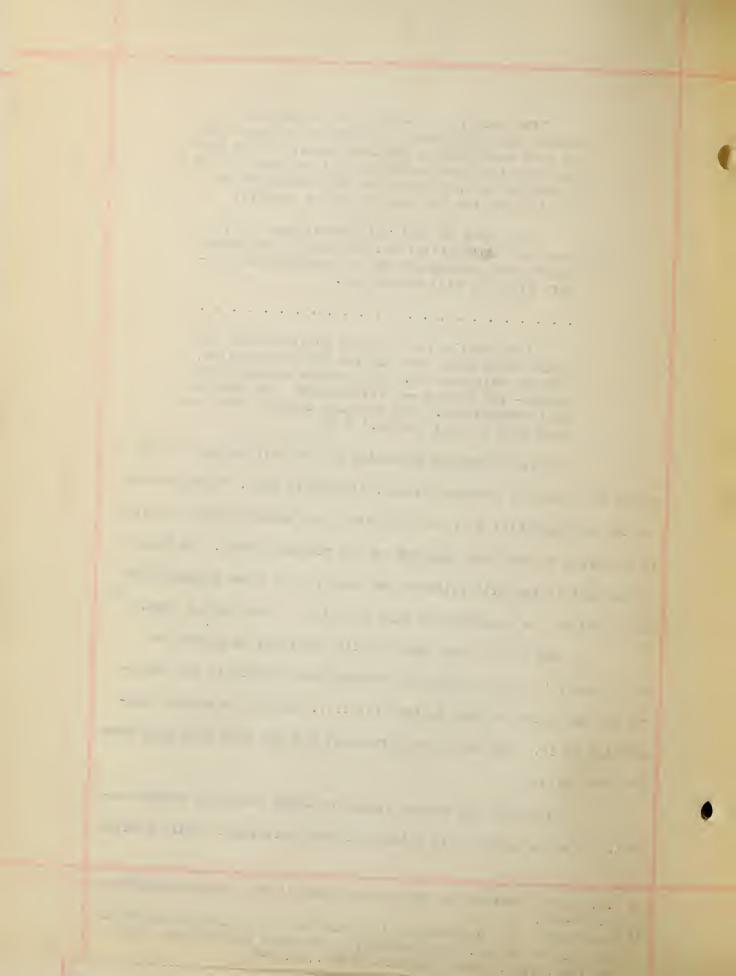
'The pupils in the rural sections were nine years older than those in the mill communities, the age being thirty. The average schooling was twenty-five months -- fifteen monts less than in mill communities. The learning capacity was less than that of mill pupils.' " 34

In discussing the economics of the welfare work in the cotton mills in the southern states, Jean Davis says, "Many parents in the villages will tell you that they have brought their families to the mills to get them educated by the company school. As long as the schools in the mill villages are superior to those supported by the counties, the manufacturer will find that a good school pays."

And in the same paper a mill president is quoted as having said: 'We have schools to develop intelligence in the children who are going to come to the mill There is a kind of competition in it. The mills who offer most get the best help away from the other mills.'

Although the school system is under state and county control, the mills often build splendid school buildings. Clifton Mills

- 34 W.P.Jacobs, Problems of the Cotton Manufacturer in South Carolina, pp.177-178.
- 35 Jean Davis, The Teonomics of the Velfare Oork in the Cotton Mills in Southern States. (In Southeastern Teonomic Association, Froceedings, 1928. The I dustrial S uth., pp.49-57.



not only built a \$75,000 schoolhouse, but a teachers' home and a bungalow for the school principal.

Importance of Mills to the State

While the foregoing pages may have convinced the reader of the valuable contributions made by the cotton mills toward education, from the financial standpoint these are small compared with the sums of money expended for wages and taxes.

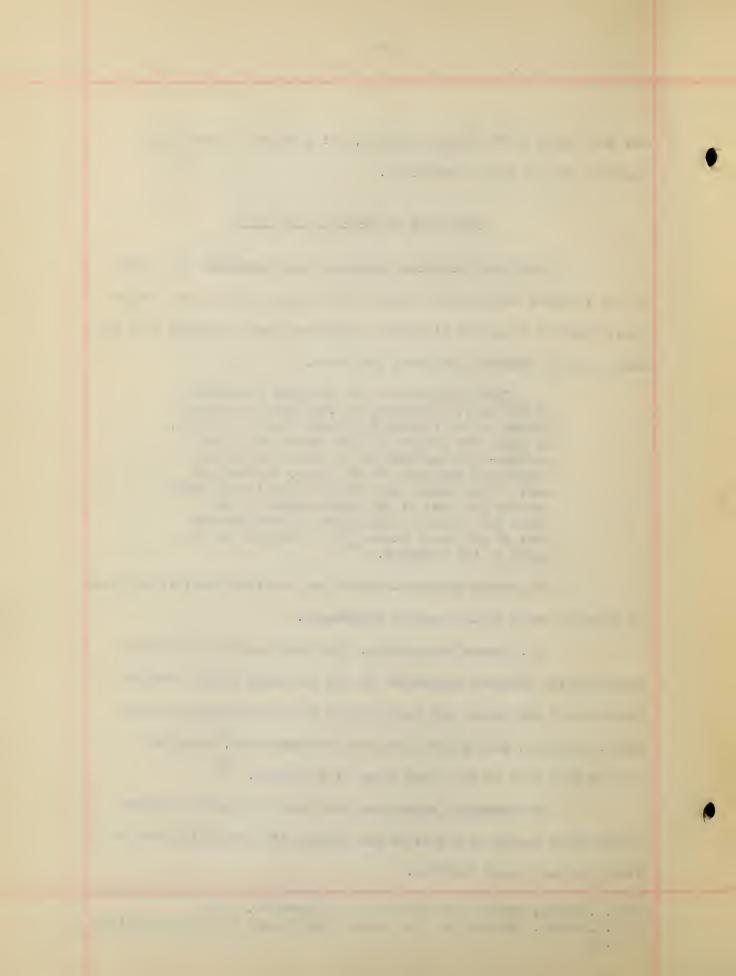
> "The magnitude of the economic importance of the textile industry in the South is illustrated by the figures for South Carolina, where, in 1925, the product of the cotton mills was seventy-four per cent of the value of all the industrial products of the State, seventy per cent of the wages were paid to textile employees seventy per cent of all wage-earners in the State were textile operatives, sixty-five per cent of the total number were localized in the mills of the Piedmont." ³⁶

The cotton textile industry has enlarged until it now pays an enormous share of the cost of government.

Mr. Jacobs states that, "In South Carolina the cotton manufacturing industry represents by far the large single class of taxpayers of the state, its contribution to the treasurers of the state, counties, school districts and municipalities, being far greater than that of any other class of taxpayers." ³⁷

Two newspaper quotations show that the public is aware of the heavy burden on the mills and realize that the mills can not st nd too much added taxation.

36 V.A.Potwin, Cotton Vill People of the Piedmont, p.19.
37 .P.Jacobs, Problems of the Cotton Vanufacturer in South Carolina, p.VI.



"One fact the cotton manufacturers of the state have succeeded in impressing upon the minds of the people in general and of the legislators in particular: Cotton Mills pay far more than their proportionate share of taxes.

"This should interest the public and lawmakers from several standpoints, including first the matter of simple justice. Vitally concerned also is the general welfare of the state and the welfare specifically of the mill workers.

"It would be absurd to expect further expansion of the textile industry in the state so long as this injustice prevails. " Greenville Piedmont.

"Te hold no special brief for the cotton mills of the state, but their figures (and we haven't seen these figures challenged) show conclusively that the textile interests are paying far more than their proportionate share of the taxes. Expansion of this important industry is, of course, unthinkable as long as this condition exists, and grows worse year by year." Chester Reporter.

In 1929 the cotton textile industry in South Carolina paid taxes totalling \$4,265,544.92, divided as follows: State, county and schools, \$3,616,706.00; license fees, \$11,157.97; income taxes, 337,680.95.

In 1930 the cotton mills paid more than five million dollars in taxes of all kinds. The total assessed valuation of properties of the textile industry for 1920 was 470,915,815.00 more than all other South Carolina industries combined, and much greater than the next largest class of tax payers, the railroads.

waluation of cotton mill properties, there has been a steady de-

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38 Ibid., pp.91-92.
39 Ibid., p.92.
40 Ibid., p.96.
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crease in the total assessed value of properties in South Carolina. Expressed in percentages, the cotton mill assessments increased twentynine per cent from 1921 to 1930, while during the same period, the total taxable property decreased eight per cent.

The figures of one hundred and twenty-two cotton mills in South Carolina were studied for the year 1929, only the summary of which is given here.

> "Eliminating from these figures all municipal, state income and capital stock taxes, we find that the taxes of the cotton mills of South Carolina paid for county purposes to the amount of 48.4%; for school, 39.6%; for state purposes, 12%.

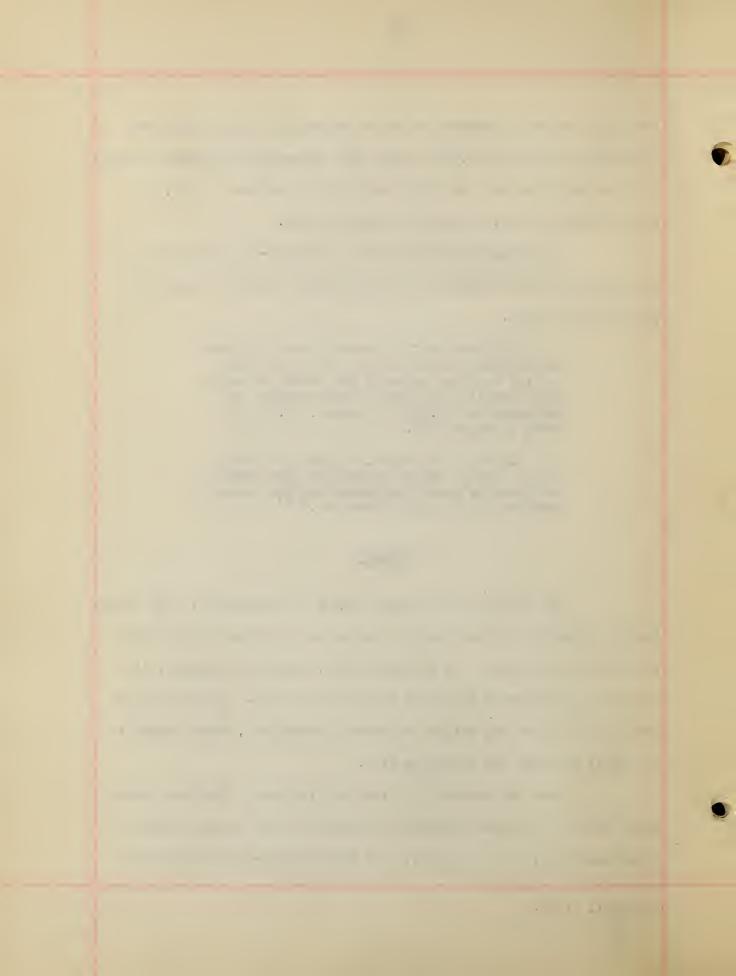
"It must, of course, be borne in mind that a portion of the county and state taxes are also for school purposes, and for state institutions of higher learning."

Summary

The facts in this chapter speak for themselves. The cotton textile industry in South Carolina exerts considerable influence over education in the state. An influence that, generally speaking, is toward more and better education for all the people. If there are a few mills that are not active in promoting education, their number is too small to alter the generalization.

From the beginning of the mill villages, when from necessity the mills provided education and cared for the social welfare of their employees, to the present, when the mills co-operate with the

41 Ibid., p.111.



state in educational matters, the mills have continuously worked for the betterment of conditions of every kind. This has been manifested in friendly interest, concern for work, health and physical requisites, provision for spiritual and social needs, as well as for mental training.

In their own early schools, the mills maintained a higher standard than that required by the state. In most cases they tried to bring their village standards up to those of the city schools. After the state included the mill schools in its public school system, the mills continued to insist upon a high standard. To achieve this they often furnished the school buildings and supplemented the state appropriations by paying part of the salaries of the superintendent and teachers and by contributing to the running expenses of the schools. In this way the schools can hire better prepared teachers, and have a longer school term. The school term is often lengthened by two months because the mills pay the additional expenses involved.

In their villages, the mills have worked for a hundred per cent enrollment of children of school age, in the village school, and also for compulsory attendance. They tried, without success, to have a state compulsory school attendance law passed long before the legislature saw fit to enact the law.

Not only the mill villages are benefited by the interest and material aid of the mills, but also the state as a whole. It has been shown that the cotton textile mills pay more than their proportionate share of taxes. Since the passage of the Equalization Act,

this money may go to all parts of the state as part of the school appropriations.

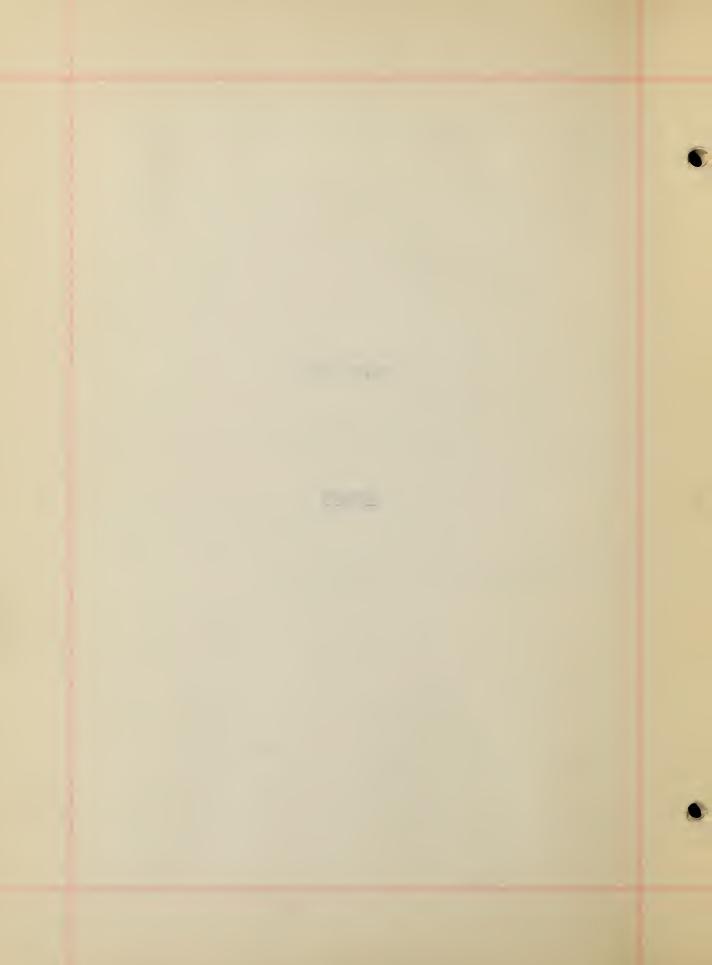
In villages where the mills have built the schools, contributed directly to teachers' salaries, and provided for longer school terms, the mill executives might very easily assume a dictatorial attitude toward school policies. However, that does not appear to be the case. On the contrary, the attitude of the mill directors seems to continue to be the same kindly, genuine interest in the welfare of the operatives, that characterized the early manufacture in order that the people might recover from desolation and destitution. The mill executives co-operate with the school authorities and do not domineer over them.

Certainly it is true that if the cotton mills suddenly closed their doors, all the schools of South Carolina, and especially the mill village schools, would suffer greatly.

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Chapter VIII

SULLIARY



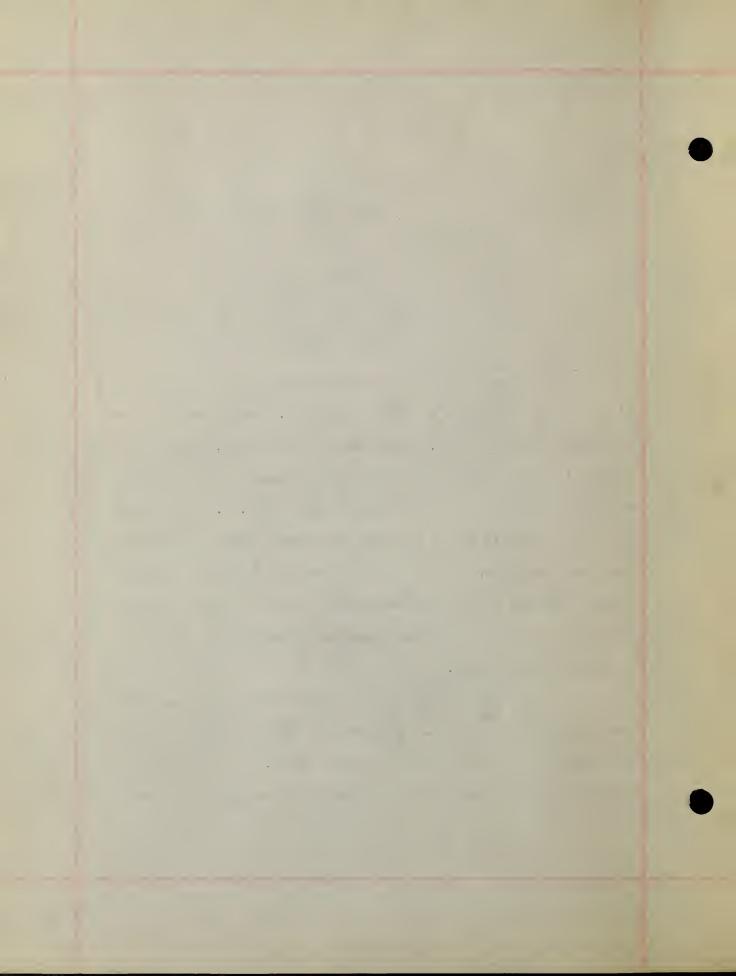
Chapter VIII

SUMMARY

Early History

Cotton, which has played an important part in the history of the United States, is a fiber of the ages. According to recent discoveries made in India, fragments of cotton cloth, adhering to a small silver vase and preserved by the formation of silver salts, would place the use of cotton as early as 3,000 B. C. The cotton plant was evidently native to India which was probably the center of the cotton industry, (if such it could be called), in prehistoric times. However, on the opposite side of the world cotton was also made into cloth in prehistoric times as demonstrated by the mummy cloth excavated in Peru.

From India cotton spread to the countries surrounding the Mediterranean and to China. At some later time cotton was imported into Ingland and there manufactured into cloth. Just when the importation began is uncertain but records mention cotton imports in 1212 A. D.





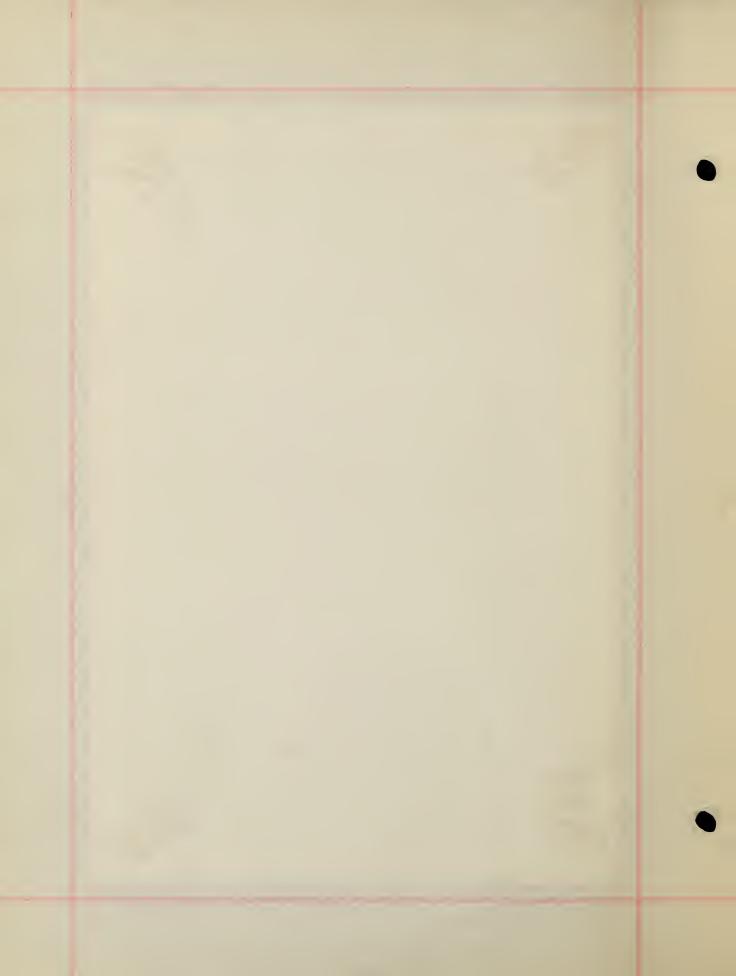
Band - Pacolet Mfg. Co. Pacolet, S.C.



Playgroundat Oconee Mills Westminster, S.C.



Operatives' Homes - Union Bleachery Greenville, S.C.



Cotton Manufacturing

For ages cotton was made into cloth as a home industry. ith crude machinery members of the family made enough cloth for their own use. Even in England, which became the center of the cotton industry, the process was carried on as an individual enterprise in private homes until around 1760. About that time, merchants began to organize the industry to the extent of furnishing raw cotton for the weavers, paying a fixed price for the web, and finding a market for the goods.

The next step was to gather some of the weavers together in a central building in the district. This was really the beginning of the factory system.

With the invention of machinery and the application of power to the machines, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the factory system was firmly established.

The most important invention was the cotton gin because with that, enough raw cotton could be supplied to fee the new machines. With the cotton gin to clean the raw cotton and power machines to make it into cloth, there was a greatly increased demand for cotton and the raising of cotton received a tremedous impetus.

The demand for cotton production revived the plantation system in southern United States and greatly increased slavery. Cotton raising was confined to the southern states and cotton manufacturing was centralized in New England. Although a few cotton textile mills were opened from time to time in the South, the industry did not reach any significant proportions until after the Reconstruction period following the Civil War. From 1860 to 1900 many mills were established, but after 1900 the industry increased even more rapidly until, in 1930, the South was consuming 76.9 per cent of the cotton used in the United States as against 39 per cent in 1900, and 21 per cent in 1890.

Education

In New England, and especially in Massachusetts, were located early colonists who had left England largely because of a desire for freedom in religious worship. For this reason they early provided means for maintaining an educated clergy. Religious reasons, too, mede it necessary for each individual to be able to read the Bible in order for each individual to be insured of future salvation. Thus, it happened that Massachusetts provided for education early in its history and led the country in supporting free, public schools for all the children. Not that a free public school system was established all at once or without opposition. It was the result of a long hard struggle. Finally, however, a non-sectarian, free public school system complete from kindergarten to university was evolved.

The Southern States, and South Carolina especially, lagged far behind Massachusetts and the other northern states in educational provisions. The principal reason for this lay in the fact that the

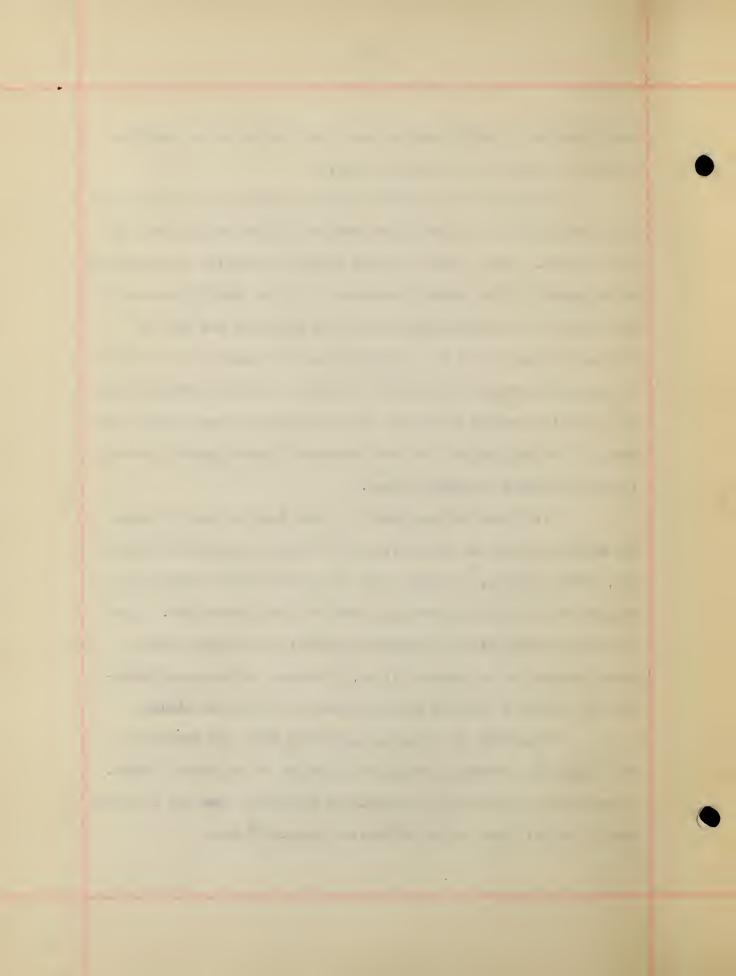
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early settlers of South Carolina came from Ingland not so much for religious freedom as for material profit.

Then, too, the climate, soil and topography of South Carolina lent itself to raising large crops of tobacco and indigo, and later cotton. These crops and their method of handling were favorable to the growth of the plantation system. In fact everything seemed to lend itself to the aristocratic idea that education was for the wealthy and clergy, and free education was for paupers who received it through the gracious generosity of church or charity organizations. To remove this stigma from free, public schools has been a slow process. It is only within the last generation that a general interest in public schools has been aroused.

With race feeling added to class feeling, and to these, the abject poverty and destitution of the South following the Civil War, South Carolina, in common with the other southern states, progressed very slowly in educational matters until after 1900. Since then she has made steady progress in providing a workable public school system for the state. It is, of course, perticularly expensive to furnish a separate school system for whites and blacks.

Even with the progress made since 1900, the schools of South Carolina are below the general standard of the United States. In matters of enforcement of compulsory attendance laws and in shortness of school terms is South Carolina especially weak.



Influence of Cotton Production on Education

When the plantation system and slavery were not only stimulated but also enlarged through the increased demand for raw cotton, following the invention of the cotton gin, educational progress in South Carolina received a set-back. Slavery increased and the barriers between plantation owner and laborer were raised somewhat higher than they had been. Children of the wealthy continued to be tutored or to attend school abroad, while the other children on the plantations usually received no schooling. In some cases poor children were apprenticed to masters who were required to teach them reading and writing, and in others, religious and charity organizations furnished education of an elementary sort for Negroes. On the whole, however, cotton production continued on the plantation system and the aristocratice notion of education, and thus hindered the progress of general public education. Today it continues as a retarding influence because children remain away from school until the crop is picked.

Influence of Cotton Manufacturing in the

North

Cotton manufacturing, on the other hand, exerted a favorable influence on education. As far back as the early 1700's (not to mention earlier legislative acts) spinning schools, in and around

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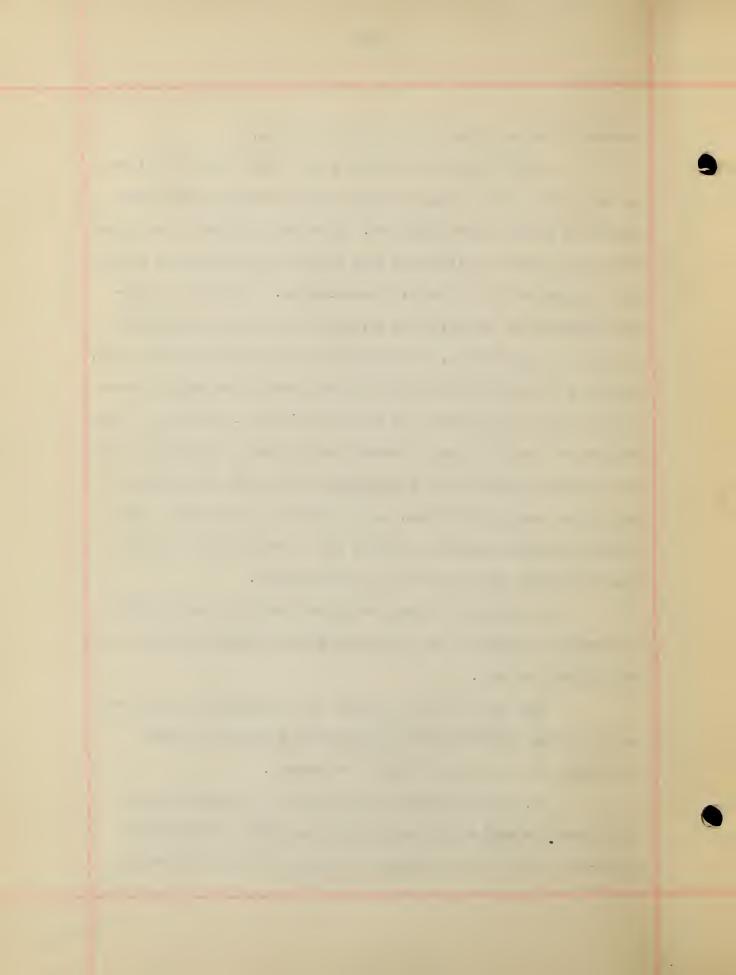
Eoston, furnished a form of vocational education.

In New England, as new mills were built on sites adjacent to water power, mill villages grew up around the mills which were usually at some distance from town. Since the children of the operatives were unable to attend the town schools, the mills built schools and ran them as part of the mill organization. In f ct use education furnished by the mills was for more than the formal education of day and night schools. They carried on all kinds of welfare work, including lectures, recreational features, health and medical attention, religious facilities, and general protection. For some of the workers who came from small isolated country spots, it was education in a practical form to live a systematic life of not too hard work under good working conditions, and to reside in houses, over which carefully selected matrons presided, and in which plenty of plain food was served and sensible hours were required.

At a later date when the native operatives were largely replaced by foreigners, the mills undertook more adult education and Americanization work.

Even after the mill schools were absorbed into the public school system, the mills often continued to furnish the school buildings and give material aid to the schools.

So, with the initial contribution of schools for mill operatives, as well as the less formal educational opportunities provided; with the long continued assistance to the public school



system; with the provisions for adult education; ind with the school revenue furnished by taxes; the cotton monufacturing industry contributed much to education in New England.

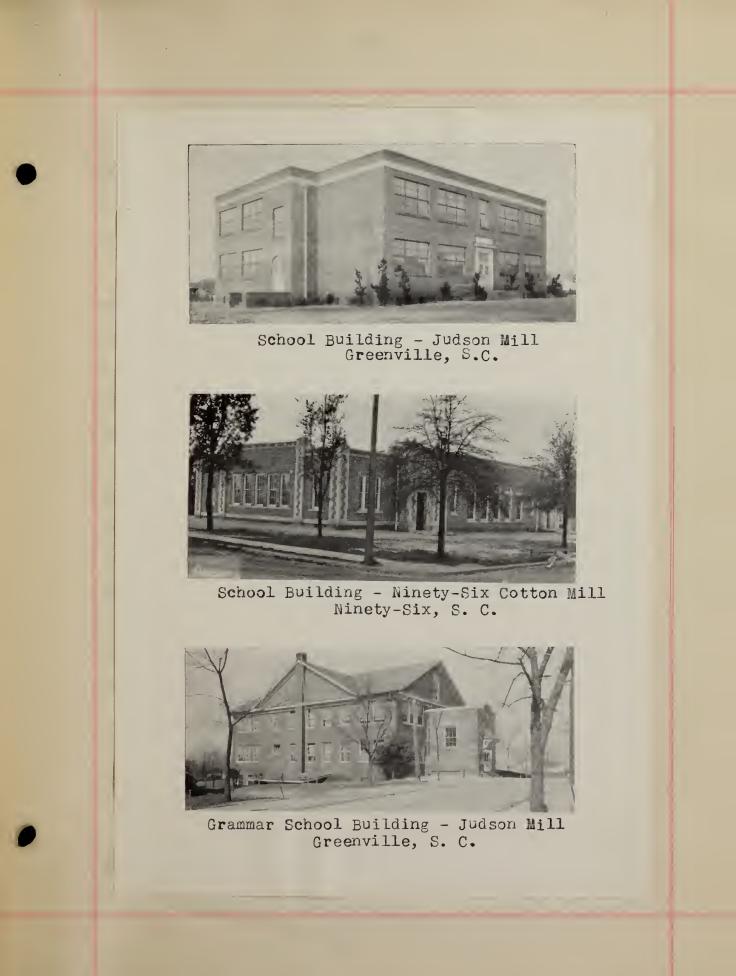
Influence of Cotton Manufacturing in South Carolina

In South Carolina, too, the early mills needed water power and sites were chosen with that in mind. Out of the same necessity and with a pattern to follow, the southern mill owners built up mill villages as had those in New England. There was this difference, however, the owners of the South Carolina mills seldom know anything about textile manufacture. They were generally men who had been connected with plantations and naturally transferred their paternal interests from plantation to mill village.

Of the same stock and traditions as the operatives, the mill owners were genuinely interested in the workers and often real friends. Because the operatives were drawn from isolated farm and mountlin districts, there was great need for welfare as well as school provisions. Therefore, the mill villages were furnished with all kinds of welfare facilities and schools erected. As in the northern mill villages, there was formal school education and the other informal, more intangible type of education.

Day school, night school, continuation school, cooking and seming classes, and summer school were provided by the mills. Some

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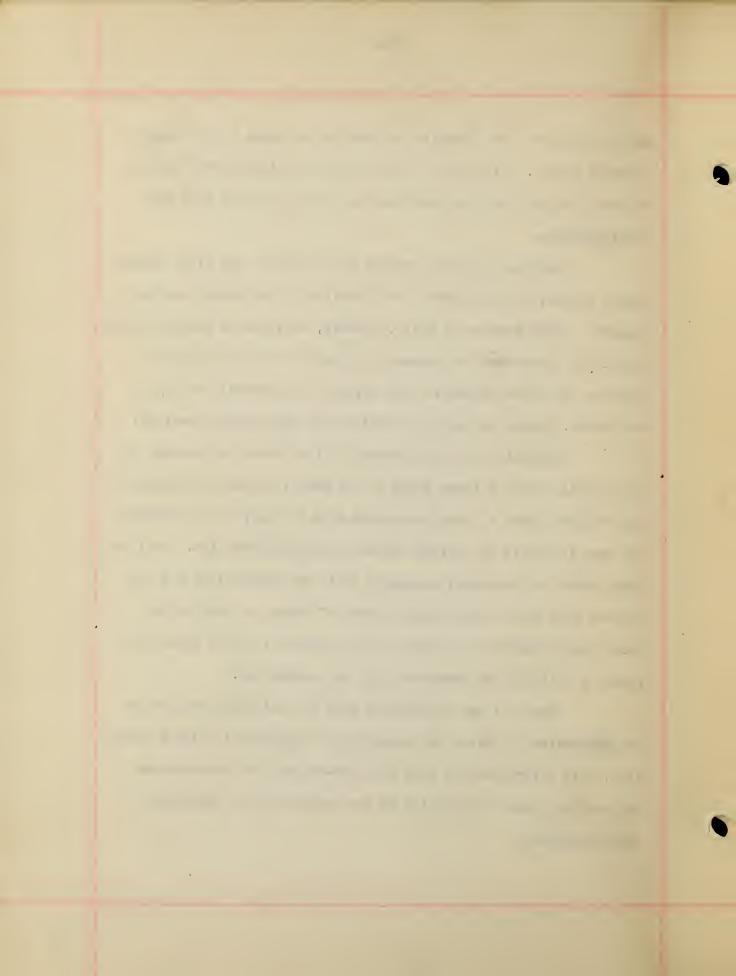
mills would not hire operatives unless the children in the family attended school. All in all, as far as can be judged from various sources, the mill schools have been as good and better than other county schools.

Now that the mill schools are a part of the state public school system, they are under the direction of the county superintendent. Large numbers of mills, however, continue to furnish school buildings, landscape the grounds, pay part of the salaries of teachers and superintendents, and maintain the schools for one or two nonths. beyond the time provided for by state appropriations.

The mills, not only assist in the direct maintenance of the schools, but pay large taxes to the state, county, and district. Out of these taxes a large percentage goes to carry on the schools all over the state as provided under the Equalization Law. In fact, there seems to be general agreement that the cotton mills pay far greater than their proportionate share of taxes, -- even to the point that endangers the future of the industry, all of which may result in killing the goose that laid the golden egg.

From all the evidence at hand it would seem that while the production of cotton has hindered and continues to hinder education, this retardation is more than off-set by the contributions and impetus given to education by the cotton textile industry of South Carolina.

141



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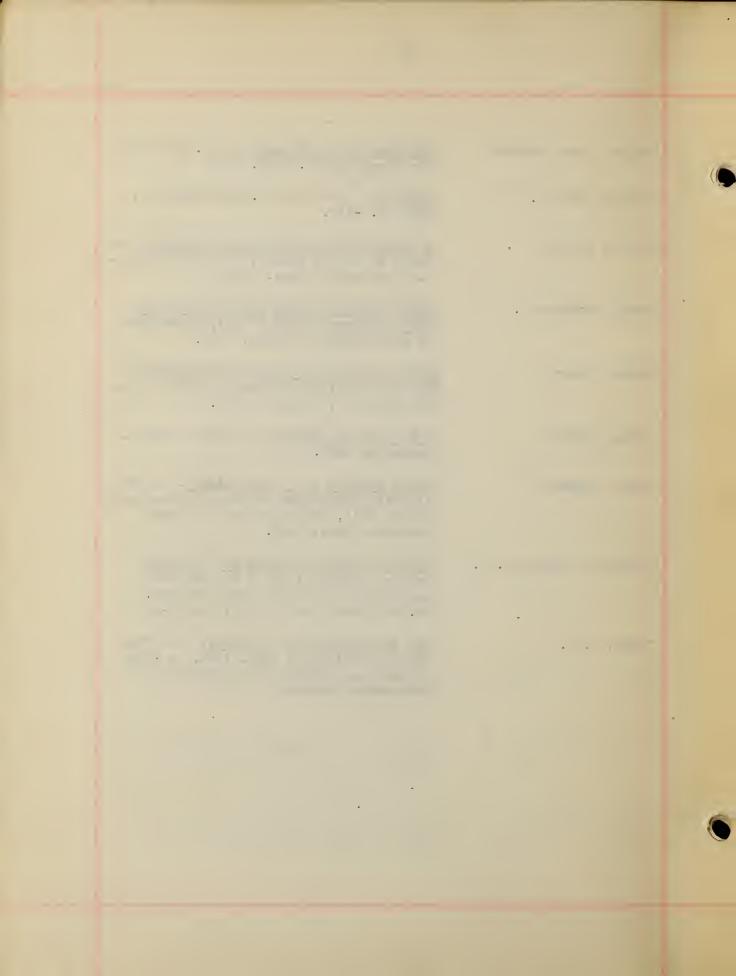
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MISCELLANEOUS

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